

TAMING GLOBAL CAPITALISM: Stiglitz, Galbraith & Others

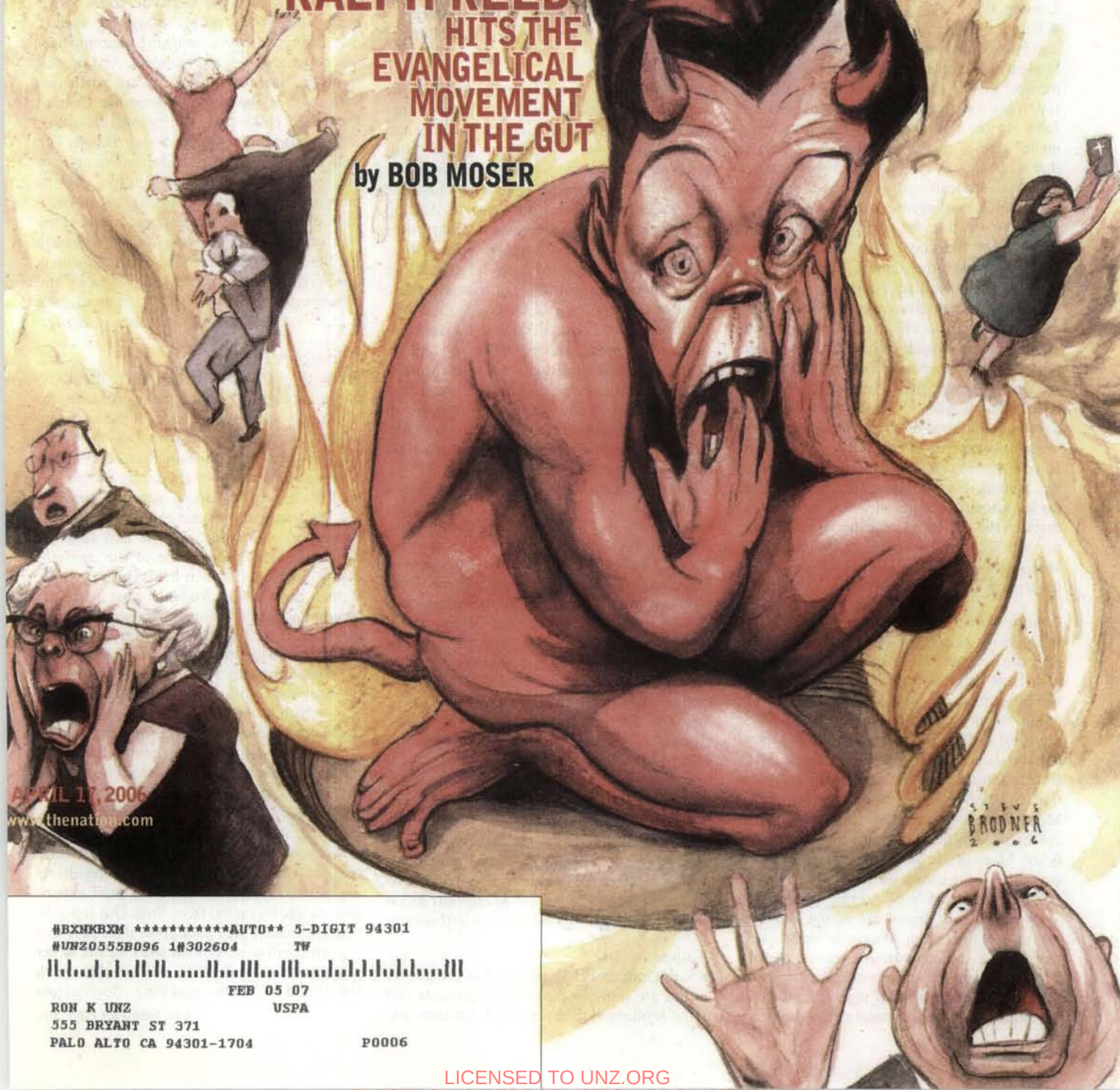
The Nation.

THE DEVIL INSIDE

RALPH REED

HITS THE
EVANGELICAL
MOVEMENT
IN THE GUT

by BOB MOSER



APRIL 17, 2006
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EXCHANGE

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

The New Campus Left-style

Loads of student activists—far-left and moderate, dredded and shiny-shoed—and their mentors responded to Sam Graham-Felsen's "The New Face of the Campus Left" [Feb. 13]. We wish we had room to print all their letters. —The Editors

Lansing, Ill.

■ I am a member of DePaul University's College Democrats, on the executive board of the Student Government Association, a founding member of our chapter of the Roosevelt Institution and a staffer for Congressional candidate John Pavich. I suppose I *am* the new "pragmatic" face of the left on campus—a campus that is certainly dealing with a rift between left-ist activist students with good hearts and good causes and a contingent of progressive students who would rather see some problems solved than simply "flier and protest."

Yes, I would rather shine my shoes than dred my hair, as Sam Graham-Felsen says. I like shiny shoes, and I know that campus moderates are receptive to students who can present themselves and their ideas seriously. I have seen several important issues undercut by far-left students who are unable to dialogue with moderate students or the administration. Recently the SGA passed a resolution against renewing our contract with Coca-Cola because of its human rights record. It took a great deal of time to pass because of the fighting over inflammatory language the far left wanted in the resolution. I view this rift between the far left and the moderates as akin to that between Dr. King and Malcolm X. History shows which path led to the greatest progress in civil rights. RYAN VANDERBILT

Canton, Mich.

■ The lefties here at Western Michigan University have done an excellent job, and not because of a large national organization. They started the Progressive Student Alliance, an umbrella group where representatives of the NAACP, the local AFSCME union, environmentalists, feminists, our GLBT group, the College Dems, College Greens, even the student-run radio station, collaborate to present one collective front. Most of our demonstrations, lectures and events are attended by the local community and city officials. Many of our groups opt for looser power structures, using consensus votes and relying on floating facilitators. Now, steering clear of hierarchy adds a lot of time to organizing, and progress is slow in coming. We never lose, though, the passion and commitment that come from a truly student-led movement. We battle the campus right, which holds regular events with big-name conservatives brought in by the Young

America's Foundation. We contrast by bringing in speakers who understand the problems we face locally and nationally. We also bring in well-known, auditorium-filling speakers. Every cause that WMU's progressives champion is led by a core of committed grassroots organizers working to better the world one campus at a time.

BEN PULVER

Cambridge, Mass.

■ As concerned progressive students at the Harvard Business School, we've realized that our movement lacked the coordination and leadership of our counterparts in the conservative movement. So we began working this year with American Democracy Institute (americandemocracynstitute.org) to develop tomorrow's progressive leaders. Conservatives have been successful not merely because they happened to find talented people like Karl Rove and Grover Norquist. On the contrary, these men are successful because conservatives built institutions that helped them find, train and develop young people and gave them the tools to go out and implement the conservative agenda. To effect change, we need to understand how the system works and train people to move an agenda through that system. Organizations like Young People For, Campus Progress and ADI are all working toward that goal.

DUSTIN CAMPBELL, MARNIE GLASSMAN
SAMEER SHAMSI

North Attleboro, Mass.

■ Sam Graham-Felsen suggests that two new organizations, Campus Progress and the Roosevelt Institution, will revitalize the student left. However, what alternative does Campus Progress propose? Doing nothing—to prevent "polarizing" people. For any progressive organization to remain silent in the face of such a monumental moral failure as the Iraq War—one a majority of Americans now oppose—is not only absurd but a hand-delivered gift to conservatives. What is the agenda of these well-financed organizations? As the author tells us, Campus Progress is an organization run by mainstream Democrats, and the Roosevelt Institution courts such prowar luminaries as Hillary Clinton. Morphing into trendy mini-me Republicans is not the solution for this generation. It's part of the problem.

M. JUNAID ALAM
co-editor, www.lefthook.org

Washington, DC

■ Sam Graham-Felsen reports that progressive groups are cultivating centrist pragmatists and party loyalists rather than real activists and

visionary leaders. This is too limited an analysis, as it fails to consider the role of youth-led organizations like US Student Association and the United Students Against Sweatshops in building grassroots and state-based infrastructure. These organizations focus on race and class issues and genuine youth leadership. They do not "channel students into safe alternatives," as Tom Hayden stated; they build an authentic youth movement, with young people setting the agenda, prioritizing the issues, designing the campaigns and communicating the messages. And in most instances, these organizations are partnering with some of the nascent groups like Campus Progress to build strong generational alliances.

Campus Progress and Young People For, both highlighted in the article, are examples of innovative and emerging projects in a growing movement, but there are also a range of organizations to engage students of diverse interests, experiences and backgrounds. Although the field is still underfunded and fragmented, it is making great strides to build capacity and connectivity.

ANNA LEFER

US Programs, Open Society Institute

Washington, DC

■ Thank you for calling attention to the efforts of Young People For and other organizations working to identify and support the next generation of progressive leaders. I disagree with Sam Graham-Felsen's characterization of our efforts as an attempt to encourage progressive students to be pragmatists instead of visionaries. It's wrong to suggest that students must choose between being effective and adhering to their beliefs—indeed, one of the strengths of our program is that it helps them do both. Rather than telling students what to think, Young People For equips them with organizing skills that they can use to create positive change in a wide variety of areas.

There are many types of progressives, and the progressive movement's ideological diversity—which is one of its strengths—is reflected in our community of Young People For fellows. It is not our job to "mainstream" fellows or tell them what to believe. Instead, we provide skills and support and a network of diverse young progressives from community colleges, HBCUs, state universities, commuter campuses, conservative campuses and progressive colleges. Fellows focus their organizing efforts on issues they choose based on their experience as leaders on the front lines. Our job is to help the fellows step back from their personal organizing to connect their work to the larger progressive movement, to connect them with the dozens of youth organizing efforts across

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EDITORIALS

Auto Recovery

When General Motors offered to buy out tens of thousands of older, high-earning factory workers in late March, the news was received with a combination of raw frustration and weary resignation. Labor's response was lukewarm: The offer was not generous enough (\$35,000 to \$140,000 per worker, based on seniority and age) to insure that the majority of employees would take it, though a sizable number are expected to. And the unions are braced for further cuts in wages and benefits of the remaining workers. Still, it is clear that without a union—and the threat of a strike—thousands of employees would have been permanently laid off with nothing to show for their loyal work.

The future of the entire domestic industry, however, remains in serious doubt. Its travails are commonly blamed not just on the labor-induced legacy costs of pensions and healthcare for retirees but also on a weak auto market. That part of the explanation invites skepticism. The sector barely felt the 2001 recession; sales haven't seen a sustained decline since the early 1990s. But domestic market share has taken a huge hit: 90 percent in the 1960s, and 70 percent as recently as 1986, it stands at 56 percent today. The unhappy fact is that American companies design fairly mediocre cars, and Japanese companies have no problem making good cars profitably here.

It's true that GM has to pay about \$1,500 a vehicle in healthcare costs, more than seven times as much as its fast-gaining rival, Toyota. GM is carrying 460,000 retirees in the United States, almost thirty times as many as Toyota. Clearly, a little social democracy would do GM a world of good: A national health insurance plan and the socialization of pensions would lighten the company's financial burdens enormously (see Jamie Lincoln Kitman on page

4). The company would also be in better shape if the laws made it easier for workers to organize at rival nonunion plants and if local governments did not hand out giant subsidies for new auto plants with no accountability. These measures would help level GM's playing field with the factories of foreign automakers.

Would that be enough, though? Many of the foreign auto companies' advantages are in the very sphere that America is supposed to be so brilliant at: design and management. Maybe GM's struggle is one of many symptoms of American decadence: We've lost much of our ability to make things.

To get it back, nothing less than a program of national renovation organized around the renovation of the auto sector is called for. As Joseph Stiglitz notes in our forum "Taming Global Capitalism Anew," which begins on page 18, investing in research should be an integral part of a strategy for fostering economic growth and strengthening our competitive advantages. We need desperately to move to a world beyond the internal combustion engine. The industry is too broke to finance such research, and Wall Street would dismiss it as too risky and fanciful, so it's going to take big public R&D subsidies to get there.

GM's plight also reveals how the welfare of US workers depends on their job. What in other systems is part of the general social contract, or what Europeans like to call the "social wage"—retirement, health and job insurance, training assistance, vacation time and family supports—is in America largely provided through employers. Clearly, our system is on its last legs. We must craft a plausible alternative to the grand Republican program to free business from any significant social constraints. This means working toward a different sort of economy both at home and internationally—a high-road economy of high wages, low waste and democratic accountability—and investing in the productive infrastructure needed to support it.

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What's Good for GM?

General Motors is headed for the wall. One of America's largest corporations recorded its biggest losses ever as its US market share dropped to the lowest levels since before it overtook Ford in the 1920s. GM's executive team, led by chair and chief executive officer Richard "Rick" Wagoner, has sought to paint the company's difficulties as the result of unforeseeable changes in consumer preference and the rising cost of healthcare, but neither is the case. GM's faulty product mix—too many SUVs and not enough superior car products—rests squarely on its management's shoulders. As for skyrocketing healthcare costs, GM's officers have failed to advocate a remedy that is not just in their workers' interest but in their shareholders' too—national healthcare.

The corporation says that employees' private healthcare plans cost about \$1,500 for every car it sells. In every other area of cost, GM managers see their duty as paying the lowest prices possible. If one of its competitors buys dashboard moldings more cheaply in China, GM demands without hesitation that its suppliers deliver it moldings at the same price or it takes its business to China, as it has increasingly done in recent years. Yet it seems institutionally unwilling to speak up for the national healthcare that would save it tens of billions in America, where it spends nearly \$6 billion a year on healthcare.

The corporation's reticence seems even more peculiar in view of its experience building cars in Canada, a country that adopted a single-payer healthcare system more than thirty years ago. As Morton Mintz reported in these pages, top executives of the Big Three US automakers' Canadian units and the leader of the Canadian autoworkers union proclaimed, in a "Joint Letter on Publicly Funded Health Care," that the country's single-payer healthcare system "significantly reduces total labour costs...compared to the cost of equivalent private insurance services purchased by US-based automakers" [see Mintz, "Single Payer: Good for Business," November 15, 2004]. At a press conference Michael Grimaldi, president and general manager of GM Canada and a GM vice president, called single payer "a strategic advantage for Canada" and its biggest export industry, automobile manufacturing.

GM's US management is not alone in dropping the ball on national healthcare. Few executives have come out for it, though many corporations and their shareholders would benefit. And instead of confining their energies to negotiating the terms of the givebacks they are being asked to sell to their members, the leaders of the United Auto Workers' union would be well advised to lobby more vigorously for the cause of universal healthcare, which they've only lately endorsed.

General Motors has a unique role in America, however, and its leaders a special sort of bully pulpit, as they demonstrated following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center. As a nation stood by, stunned, GM launched a massive patriotic advertising campaign that stimulated an unprecedented SUV-buying frenzy. If nothing else, the success of this campaign showed what GM can do to forward a cause if it wants to.

When queried about government health insurance, Wagoner has said that he feels it inappropriate to inject GM into political

COMMENT

debates. That statement must tickle those who remember the supposedly recalcitrant chairman stumping the nation on behalf of George W. Bush's second round of tax cuts or his corporation's outspoken positions against emissions regulations, fuel economy standards and the Kyoto treaty—indeed, against the very existence of global warming. Few will remember that GM, along with Ford and Chrysler, was actually standing in the wings to endorse the ill-starred national healthcare plan forwarded by the Clinton Administration in 1993. When it crashed and burned, the Detroiters quietly let themselves out the back door.

It may be that Wagoner and company fear the opprobrium they'll face at their country clubs if it becomes known that they're advocating something that sounds like socialism—even if national healthcare is a given in almost every capitalist land. Yes, it's true that such a system would not only benefit GM and its workers but also hundreds of millions of un- and underinsured Americans. But in the long-established matter of the responsibility of the corporation and its officers to shareholders—which may be summarized briefly as “money talks, everything else walks”—there can be no argument that passing the cost of one's workers' and retirees' healthcare to the federal Treasury makes anything other than complete business sense.

Shareholders, unite! Right-wing ideology shouldn't be allowed to trump cost reduction and profit. Especially when, to paraphrase a former GM chair, What's good for General Motors is also good for America. And vice versa. JAMIE LINCOLN KITMAN

Jamie Lincoln Kitman is New York bureau chief for Automobile Magazine.

How to Free the Press

While most mainstream media outlets earned the scorn that has been heaped upon them for their stenographic reporting of the Bush Administration's prewar claims about Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, one newspaper chain's Washington bureau was consistently—and, it turns out, correctly—skeptical of the White House. Before the war began, Knight Ridder's small but able team of reporters was the exception to a bad rule, producing a steady stream of now widely praised articles with headlines that referred to the “Failure to find weapons in Iraq” and “Troubling questions over justification for war in Iraq.”

But the war that might have been averted by more skeptical reporting from the rest of the media will outlast Knight Ridder. Pressed by investors who grumbled about the company's putting too much money into journalism and returning too little profit, Knight Ridder sold out to the California-based McClatchy chain, which paid \$4.5 billion and then announced it would auction off, by summer, a dozen Knight Ridder papers, including eight represented by the Newspaper Guild. The end of Knight Ridder, whose thirty-two newspapers—including the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Akron Beacon Journal* and the *San Jose Mercury News*—had earned a combined eighty-four Pulitzer Prizes, illustrates the peril of practicing the craft of journalism in times like these. No conspiracy took Knight Ridder down; it was Wall

Street's line that profit margins of 19 or 20 percent—which the chain posted in recent years—no longer suffice.

Though McClatchy officials weren't saying as much, the decision to sell off newly acquired papers in Philadelphia and San Jose, which are rated among the best in the country, was an admission that doing journalism right in some of the nation's most diverse cities costs more than the new owners are ready to spend. And that makes this a scary moment for anyone who recognizes the role that strong daily newspapers still play in gathering news, promoting debate and—in the case of most of the editorial pages of Knight Ridder's dailies that are for sale—challenging the new orthodoxies of the right. Who buys these papers will matter, not just to the communities where they are located but to the political and social fabric of the states where they publish and to the national discourse.

There may come a time when new media begin to produce a steady flow of quality reporting, but as of now, according to the latest report from the Project for Excellence in Journalism, while

CALVIN TRILLIN

ON THE REVELATION THAT DICK CHENEY REQUIRES THE TELEVISION TO BE PRE-SET TO FOX NEWS IN ANY HOTEL ROOM HE IS ABOUT TO OCCUPY

The networks give Bush knocks or mocks.
They paint him stubborn as an ox
And clever as a box of rocks.
So set the channel, please, to Fox.

Some commentators on the box
Like making us the laughingstocks.
Upon foul PBS a pox!
Just set the channel, please, to Fox.

That CNN will broadcast crocks
On Arabs managing our docks
And deaths in wars and other shocks.
Now set the channel, please, to Fox.

For me, the news that really rocks
Confirms beliefs held by our flocks.
My mind remains quite closed, with locks.
So set the channel, please, to Fox.

COMMENT

the number of media outlets is growing, fewer stories are being covered and in less depth. "The worry is not the wondrous addition of citizen media, but the decline of full-time, professional monitoring of powerful institutions," the report argues. As the Project's director, Tom Rosenstiel, warns, "The content has to come from somewhere, and as older news-gathering media decline, some of the strengths they offer in monitoring the powerful and verifying the facts may be weakening as well."

What's needed is a new model for old-media ownership, and it's just possible that one could come out of the Knight Ridder debacle. A union-friendly private-equity firm, Yucaipa Companies, is bidding against several of the country's more unsavory chains for the twelve papers, most of which are unionized. If it succeeds, newspaper employees could over time buy ownership of a new corporation set up to run the papers. "It will start off 100 percent owned by Yucaipa and then more and more by employees," explains Newspaper Guild president Linda Foley. "We would like it to be majority-owned by employees, eventually 100 percent."

McClatchy has erected barriers to the bid from Yucaipa, a firm run by billionaire Ronald Burkle. And even if Yucaipa overcomes those obstacles and buys all or most of the dailies, the papers will still have to struggle with the shifting realities of a newspaper business where circulation rates and advertising revenues are generally in decline, and where the costs of paying reporters, maintaining news bureaus and pursuing investigations keep going up. Even a model that frees newspapers from the pressures imposed by the greediest investors will not necessarily usher in an era of journalistic freedom and excellence. But the Yucaipa bid offers some hope that, while the Project for Excellence in Journalism is right that "the news industry is beginning to move into the next era," newspaper journalists may still be able to earn a fair wage for asking tough questions of those in power.

JOHN NICHOLS

ACS v. Federalists

With Samuel Alito's confirmation as a Supreme Court Justice, some pundits predict that we may be witnessing the final act in a great drama that has riveted the nation for decades. Fifty years ago the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* placed the courts at the forefront of the struggle for social justice, and there they remained, largely unchallenged, for three decades. But then, during the Reagan Administration, a conservative legal movement symbolized by (but not limited to) the Federalist Society rapidly rose to prominence. Its agenda was clear: Government—all government, but especially the courts—must be hobbled and the struggle for social justice initiated by *Brown* halted. Now, with Alito joining fellow conservative John Roberts on the Court, some on the right seem to believe that their great project is nearing completion.

They are, however, dead wrong. Justices Roberts and Alito will take an already conservative court even further to the right, but the struggle for social justice will go on. And I am pleased to report that a new force—full of energy and optimism and new ideas—has entered the fray on the side of those who are committed to our founding values of liberty, equality and justice. It is the American

Constitution Society for Law and Policy (ACS), which employs many of the undeniably successful techniques perfected by the Federalist Society, but in pursuit of liberal ends.

When I joined many others to help found ACS five years ago, I had high hopes for its potential, but even I have been astonished by its explosive growth and its increasing influence on the nation's legal scene. ACS rapidly made extensive progress in matching the Federalist Society's network of chapters, with thousands of members now organized in student chapters at 142 law schools and lawyer chapters in twenty-one major cities in both blue and red states nationwide. ACS has, as you might expect, a strong presence at Harvard, Yale and Stanford, but it also has active chapters at Brigham Young, Arkansas and Washington and Lee. The lawyer chapters (to which many nonlawyers belong) are not only in New York, Boston and the Bay Area but also Dallas, Atlanta and Nashville.

To truly appreciate the diversity and energy of the ACS network, you should attend its annual convention (the next one will take place June 16–18 in Washington, DC). More than 1,000 judges, government officials, lawyers, academics, law students and other interested—and interesting—people will come together to discuss, debate and make plans to work together. Past speakers have included Supreme Court Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer, Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton and John Edwards, Representative John Lewis and Professor Laurence Tribe. You will be struck, as I am when I speak at ACS events across the country, by the large numbers of extremely bright, highly energetic young people who are active in the organization.

ACS understands, as the Federalist Society does, the power of organizing linked to the generation and dissemination of ideas. It is this dynamic—of people coming together to write, argue and put ideas to the test, thereby attracting more people interested in developing those ideas—that gives these organizations their effectiveness. This networking function matters greatly because, as the saying goes in Washington, "people are policy." This is especially true with respect to lifetime appointments to the federal courts. It is no coincidence that Justices Roberts and Alito got their start on the front lines of the legal wars of the Reagan Administration. As one Federalist Society stalwart recently told the *New York Times*, their ascension to the Court "is a Reagan personnel officer's dream come true." Now, finally, ACS is building the same sort of network for liberals.

The people and the ideas come together in ACS's multiyear "Constitution in the 21st Century" project, in which experts from across the legal profession work on the development and articulation of a compelling liberal vision of law and policy. It is structured around six initial issue groups: Access to Justice, Constitutional Interpretation and Change, Criminal Justice, Democracy and Voting, Equality and Liberty, and Separation of Powers and Federalism. By sponsoring major public events—such as former Vice President Al Gore's powerful recent speech on domestic surveillance and executive power—and by publishing short, persuasive papers, these groups will direct their work at the media and the public as well as the legal profession and decision-makers.

ACS's goals are ambitious but attainable. Those who would

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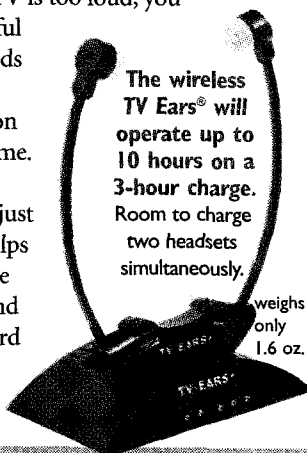
—Darlene and Jack B., CA

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COMMENT

despair of our success need only think of the small band of legal conservatives of twenty-five years ago—their ideas then scorned by academics, ignored by judges and unknown to the public—who persevered to build a powerful movement and reshape our world according to their notions. If you seek their works, look around you. Our work is just beginning. Don't just stand there—join us.

ABNER MIKVA

Abner Mikva, a former Democratic Congressman from Illinois, federal court of appeals judge and White House counsel under President Clinton, is a member of the American Constitution Society's board of advisers.

The Erotics of Resistance



V for Vendetta, the most popular movie in America as I write, raises incendiary questions about terrorism as a tool against tyranny—in this case, a Christian fascism that has turned Britain into a police state. Though the critics were less than kind, this is the dude-flick of the moment, which is quite a feat. A few years ago, young men were lapping up films about combat troops and pumped-up paladins; now they're being entertained by a hero who bombs Parliament. True, many guys will enjoy watching *any* building blow up, but surely the target has meaning, and this enticing image of iconoclastic anarchism recalls the punk values that were central to youth culture until they gave way to patriotic posturing after 9/11. Is the spirit of Johnny Rotten making a comeback?

Bear in mind that *V for Vendetta* is not just a unique sensation. It's part of the most important trend in Hollywood: films with a social conscience. In these dramas, evil is not a force threatening us from without but a presence in our midst. Even the best of these films—e.g., *Syriana* and *Crash*—are too blunt to fully engage the imagination, but *V* is an adventure fantasy that touches the pleasure centers. Because it evokes the erotics of resistance, this film is a significant event despite its aesthetic limits. It replaces the sadism that is the hallmark of conservative culture with the thrill of aggression in the name of freedom—and that's an association liberalism has lately lacked. Such metaphors of energy can be the seeds of a new politics.

One can see similar glimmerings of joyous dissent in pop music, where the rules of thug are being challenged in subtle ways. Consider Kanye West's recent exhortation about confronting homophobia. "Everybody in hip-hop discriminates against gay people," he told an MTV interviewer. "Matter of fact, the exact opposite word of 'hip-hop,' I think, is 'gay.'... And I wanna just come on TV and just tell my rappers, just tell my friends, 'Yo stop it, fam.'" Even more astonishing was West's explanation for his own homophobia: He was mocked as a mama's boy when he was young. This is a daring self-analysis for a hip-hop star, and it comes at a time when black leaders are addressing homophobia in the African-American community. The significance of this initiative is not just its attempt to root out sexual bigotry but its implicit critique of the machismo that constructs the faggot in order to define itself—and where there are fags there are nearly always women whose value is their

sexual servility (as in bitches and ho's). The fantasy of rigid and ruthless masculinity is central to the conservative worldview, and now, it seems, there's a growing awareness in hip-hop of the connection between sexism and social politics.

West's critique of homophobia came on the heels of his astonishing performance at a televised benefit for New Orleans during which he declared that "George Bush doesn't care about black people." (At that point he was cut off.) This combination of racial and sexual critique is immensely important; indeed, no rebellion against the right can be truly authentic without it. When a top dawg like Kanye West undertakes such an examination, you can bet your iPod that it's commercial. Though there's still a major place for those who sing glock around the clock, the gangsta/playa persona is no longer the only option for a young black rapper. Before long it may *really* be hard out here for a pimp.

It's a leap to regard the recent appearance of pink in dawg-wear as a sign that the Democrats will win control of Congress this fall. But there's something auspicious about the current hip-hop exploration of such once contemptible colors. *Vibe* magazine's April cover boy is decked out in a pinked-up camo hoodie with matching belt and boxers in a pattern of pale blotches. Is this new interest in pastel a signifier of gender freedom? A recent *New York Times* piece noted that the straight but sensitive men of emo are experimenting with the androgynous flourishes of glam rock. Does this represent a new spirit of male looseness? Maybe not—sometimes a dab of puce is just a dab of puce. But shifts in style can prefigure new social attitudes by embodying feelings still inchoate and making them sexy.

Of course, one pink hoodie does not a summer of love make. But it's certainly not the dour macho color code we're used to. And the fact that it's hot suggests that some desire, as pleasurable as it is forbidden, is being expressed. Such *frissons* are crocuses. They augur the melting of ice.

RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

Richard Goldstein writes about the connections among pop culture, politics and sexuality.

NATION NOTES

After a long stretch without raising our prices, we have reluctantly increased our newsstand cover price to \$3.95 and raised the average subscription renewal by about \$7 a year. This follows increased expenses in several areas, among them a \$250,000 annual hike in postal costs. We remain committed to delivering a valuable resource worth more than we charge, and to continuing our 141-year tradition of publishing a weekly magazine that almost breaks even.

—Katrina vanden Heuvel, editor and publisher

ON THE WEB: Garrett Ordower looks at the University of Phoenix and how a complaisant Congress helps the online education giant fill its coffers while leaving student needs unmet. Nicholas von Hoffman looks beyond the media hype to the real source of the avian flu virus: unregulated poultry farms (www.thenation.com).

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

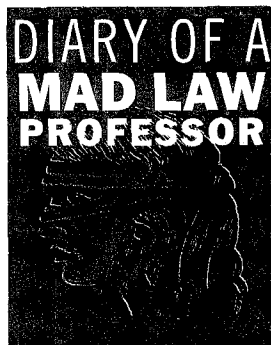
Jeu de Vivre

Given all the things in this overwrought culture operating to divide a middle-aged mother from a 13-year-old boy, I'm relieved to be able to point to at least one interest that my son and I can still enjoy together: the old-fashioned silliness of *Mad* magazine. The April issue features an article titled "35 Reasons Why School Sucks." Reason # 34 is military recruiters who try to entice you into enlisting in "the one place worse than high school." The picture shows a recruiter coaxing a hapless young man with this line: "It'll be like living in a video game—but cooler."

Both my son and I laughed, but with somewhat different inflections. He thinks it would indeed be cool to live inside a video game, although not one run by the Army. He'd choose a basketball videoworld, to be precise, and he'd create a doppelgänger with the kind of thoughtfulness not always present in his life on terra firma. He'd consider height, haircut, team affiliation, uniform number. His shirt would be tucked in lovingly, for once his shoelaces tied. He'd adorn his cyberself with a mustache and mutton-chop sideburns because he is hoping for signs of fuzz in real life. There wouldn't be a mother in sight.

For me, on the other hand, the attraction to a fantasy of perfect control is completely incomprehensible. It's a generational thing, I suppose, but I worry that the real world is more and more like a computer game. And I have no particular desire to enter a space where I can edit my flaws and those of my enemies with the brush of a keystroke. Already I have an ongoing nightmare that a whole generation of kids are being sucked into their computer screens, headfirst. At other times I worry that the computer itself is breeding, hatching, programming little cyberhumans who will wander among us, sucking the humanity out through our ears.

It is a thin metaphor for the politics of the day, I suppose. There's just so much going awry in the world right now that it's hard to express concern about any single issue before another crisis or scandal crashes down around us, as predictably as the next wave in a high wind. It's hard to respond with anything like political coherence when you're trying to sort among priorities such as: Do you approve of torture? Who's the better lawyer for the defense, Carla Martin or Zacarias Moussaoui? Shall we make felons of economic refugees and anyone who harbors them? Do fifty beheadings a day constitute civil war in Iraq or does one wait for a hundred? Should whistleblowers and those who publish leaks be charged with espionage? Will firing Andrew Card as opposed to Donald Rumsfeld cause the President's approval ratings to climb? Should Pittsburgh schools ditch the International Baccalaureate program because it's "foreign"? If you indefinitely detain and force-feed prisoners at Guantánamo in violation of the Geneva Conventions, can you block investigation into such charges by invoking those same Geneva Conventions, asserting prisoners' rights to be free from the glare of "public curiosity"? If Sandra Day O'Connor publicly worries about a trend toward dictatorship, does that mean that the apocalypse, if not Congress-



sional censure, is nigh? Will Wal-Mart hire you once it's data-wrapped you into neat packages defined by your credit history, religious practice, beard length, hat size, shopping patterns, porno sites visited, school performance, driving record and genetic predisposition to dropping dead before the post-Enron minimum retirement age of 96.5? If young black men in American cities have an unemployment rate of 50 to 72 percent, and the overall American unemployment rate is less than 5 percent—who else out there is unemployed? Is it really OK to write off that statistic as

mere "self-destructive choice"? And speaking of self-destructive, is artist Daniel Edwards's nude, life-size statue of Britney Spears crouched on all fours as she gives birth to her son truly an appropriate monument to the "pro-life" movement?

It weighs on a mind, all this. But it does make me want to back up and ask even bigger questions. Is the Constitution really constitutive if we have a shadow system of justice by which the President can designate anyone, including citizens, an enemy combatant and then they disappear? I wonder too: What becomes of liberalism at a moment when DNA can pinpoint not just how closely I am related to Tom DeLay, not just whether I am susceptible to a variety of diseases, but can also pinpoint and establish beyond the shadow of a doubt individual biological, medical and mental *inequalities*. This poses an interesting challenge to our presumptions of political equality, in that it is beginning to spur policies that will privilege certain groups of people over others, if not as a matter of state policy then as popular "privatized" eugenic "choice." Coming soon, without doubt: pre-emptive quarantine or sterilization of those more prone to contracting certain diseases; pre-emptive detention of those thought prone to aggression; pre-emptive hiring; pre-emptive genetic alteration in favor of desired qualities, whether IQ or blond hair; pre-emptive intervention making all sorts of well-meaning mischief. This is occurring, moreover, in a market context—there's a price on our heads. We are not "unalienable" if every last thought, deed and body part has a price tag hanging from it. From the surge in cosmetic surgery to the USA Patriot Act, one's very right to the perquisites of civil society is negotiable rather than assumed. One's appreciation or depreciation is linked to the unhappy coincidence of advertising, profit, speculation, rumor, suspicion, fear, relative supply and demand and "fashion" in the most fleeting and momentary sense.

But back to video games. Whether we abandon planet Earth to live in cyberspace or whether it takes over our lives in real time, my worry is not one of technology per se. It's about the sense of unreality by which we seem seized; a sense that everything's a game, as though we were watching our politics spin from afar, all wish fulfillment and instant gratification, all mechanical predestination till the machine crashes and then we start again. This assortative commercialization, combined with our general cynicism, tapers our notions of individualism, cheapens our inventiveness and injects a crudely aimless competitiveness that displaces rather than balances what's left of our sense of community. ■

ERIC ALTERMAN

Prescient *and* Patriotic: America's Honor Roll

George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq has proven so colossally counterproductive it almost beggars belief. This is finally, *belatedly*, reflected across a spectrum of opinion that includes virtually everyone who is not in the Bush inner circle or on the *Washington Post* editorial board or the *Weekly Standard* masthead. Speaking for the bedrock institutions of the establishment on *The Charlie Rose Show* recently, Leslie Gelb, president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, admitted, "There's no question that it's helped to weaken America's standing in almost every other country in the world. It's just added to the notion of an America out of control, an America that doesn't know how to deal with the world." Jessica Matthews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, added, "The war has cost us deeply in credibility, in respect.... even our closest allies don't trust what our next instincts would be."

Ironically, the very same people who counseled us into this catastrophe remain in control of the debate on what is to be done about it. In fact, most of the "liberal hawks" who spent their time attacking not merely the analysis of their more cautious comrades but often their patriotism and intelligence have only seen their prestige and positions enhanced. On *Charlie Rose* George Packer, who equated warnings of the failure of this benighted enterprise with possession of "second-rate minds," was wondering why Bush was building "these enormous bases that do have the look of permanence. And I don't quite understand why that hasn't been cleared up by the Administration: What are our intentions in the long run in Iraq?" (Hmmm, billions for bases and nothing for reconstruction. George: Does this calculation really require a "first-rate mind"?)

To address this incongruity I've picked a short (representative) Honor Roll of people in a variety of fields whose prescience and patriotism led them to risk their positions and/or prestige in public life to warn their nation of impending catastrophe:

Soldier. On October 10, 2002, Maj. Gen. Anthony Zinni (Ret.), former chief of US Central Command, gave a speech in Washington in which he repeated numerous points he'd made during the run-up to war (and which cost him his appointment as George W. Bush's special envoy to the Middle East). "If we think there is a fast solution to changing the governance of Iraq," Zinni warned, "then we don't understand history, the nature of the country, the divisions or the underneath suppressed passions that could rise up. God help us if we think this transition will occur easily." Honorable mention goes to: Army Chief of Staff Gen. Eric Shinseki, who was cashiered after accurately informing Congress that the occupation of Iraq would require "something on the order of several hundred thousand soldiers"; and Gen. Wesley Clark (Ret.), who predicted that the result of a unilateral US invasion would be "to supercharge recruiting for Al Qaeda."

Bureaucrat. Ambassador Joe Wilson for going public about the Administration's deceptions regarding alleged Iraqi uranium



purchases and braving the Rove slime machine's wrath toward himself and his wife. Honorable mention goes to John Brady Kiesling, a young foreign service officer who resigned his job in protest over the Bush/Cheney lies.

Statesman. Al Gore, speaking to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in September 2002, warned, "If we quickly succeed in a war against the weakened and depleted fourth-rate military of Iraq and then quickly abandon that nation, as President Bush has quickly abandoned almost all

of Afghanistan after quickly defeating a fifth-rate military power there, then the resulting chaos in the aftermath of a military victory in Iraq could easily pose a far greater danger to the United States than we presently face from Saddam." For this he was attacked as "crazy" and "unhinged" by armchair neocon warriors and assailed by his fair-weather friends at *The New Republic*, who complained, "Bitterness is not a policy position." Honorable Mention goes to Senators Russ Feingold, Ted Kennedy and Barack Obama for eloquently, albeit unsuccessfully, seeking to awaken their party to its responsibility to demand answers to difficult questions about the invasion.

Economist. In November 2002, Yale's William Nordhaus analyzed the overall effect of a war, both in terms of direct costs and its impact on the economy. He offered a conservative scenario in which expenses were assessed to be a mere \$99 billion over the next decade. But under his second scenario, the likely costs rose as high as \$1.9 trillion, which included the cost of a lengthy postwar occupation (\$500 billion) and an economic downturn (\$391 billion). He was widely derided by prowar pundits at the time, but his numbers have proven painfully accurate.

Scholar. John Dower, dean of twentieth-century Japanese historians, joined thirty-five colleagues to warn, in a January 2003 statement, "As students of the Japanese occupation, we believe that the Bush administration's plans for war and occupation in Iraq are a historical mistake and strongly urge the United States to seek a peaceful solution to the present crisis." Dower added in an interview, "We do not have the moral legitimacy we had then, nor do we have the other thing that was present when we occupied Japan—the vision of the American public that we would engage in serious and genuinely democratic nation-building and that we would do this in the context of an international order."

Journalist. In the November 2002 *Atlantic Monthly*, James Fallows did the due diligence avoided by the government and after surveying the views of a collection of spies, Arabists, oil-company officials, diplomats, scholars, policy experts and soldiers, presented a far more realistic assessment of the likely cost of occupation than the Administration would countenance. Honorable Mention goes to Walter Pincus of the *Washington Post* and the Washington bureau of Knight Ridder for their refusal to swallow the official line on weapons of mass destruction, while so many of their colleagues were parroting Administration disinformation. ■

ARTICLES

Ralph Reed is going to own this room. Granted, it's only a standard-issue campus auditorium at Emory University, half filled at best for the annual Georgia College Republicans convention. But to the former boy wonder of evangelical politics, it looks like heavenly shelter on this drizzly February morning. The Christian Coalition co-founder's first campaign for public office—lieutenant governor of Georgia, a position Reed and his fans envision as a stepping stone to bigger things—has turned into a waking nightmare. Every week brings a new revelation about the millions in dirty money Reed earned by duping his fellow evangelicals into putting their political muscle behind “Casino Jack” Abramoff's gambling clients. Reed's huge leads in both popularity polls and fundraising have almost disappeared. Instead of making his triumphant debut as a politician, the man *Time* magazine called “The Right Hand of God” is fast becoming the new poster boy for Christian-right corruption.

But here, Reed expects a hero's welcome. As an undergraduate dynamo at the University of Georgia in the late 1970s and early '80s, Reed turned the Georgia CRs into a political machine that helped elect the state's first Republican US senator since Reconstruction. “Tricky Ralph,” as he was known on campus, went on to make a similar splash with the national CRs, teaming with the equally tricky pair of Abramoff, who was national CR chairman in the early 1980s, and Grover Norquist, whose Americans for Tax Reform is also caught up in the scandal.

Those associations go unmentioned in the introductory roll call of achievements that Reed listens to, beaming, before he bounds up to the podium, spreading wide his Howdy Doody grin. “It's great to be back home,” he chirps, fondly recalling how in 1980 he ran a mock campus election in which Ronald Reagan surprisingly beat President Jimmy Carter, Georgia's native

THE DEVIL INSIDE



RALPH REED HITS THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT IN THE GUT

by BOB MOSER

son—and timed the results perfectly for maximum impact. “Right before Ronald Reagan walked out on stage for his one and only debate against President Carter,” he says, “they distributed a news release announcing Reagan's victory in Georgia!”

This is vintage Reed, the incorrigibly boastful, smooth-talking operator who long dazzled—and blinded—evangelical Christians, big-money Republicans and mainstream journalists. Now 44, he still looks like a million bucks, his elfin face perma-tanned to a brick red, his pencil-thin body subtly bulked out by a well-tailored suit. Only one thing is missing: applause. Maybe some CRs know the real history of that 1980 mock election from Nina Easton's book *Gang of Five*, in which Reed's first big political triumph is revealed to have been rigged—his first notable act of mass decep-

tion. Maybe they're just waiting for Reed to finally offer a satisfying explanation of his star turn in the Abramoff scandal. But his mea culpa smacks more of false piety than genuine gut-spilling.

“I was approached in 1999 by a friend that I met in the College Republicans,” says Reed. “He said, ‘There's an effort to bring five new casino-style operations to Alabama. Would you be willing to help us stop

them?’ And I said, ‘Yes, I would. I'm opposed to casino gambling expansion, but I can only do it if I won't be paid with revenues from other casinos.’” Before the kids get a chance to chew on that, Reed quickly offers a Nixonian apology before sliding into spin mode. “If I had known then what I know now, I would have turned that work down. But I will tell you that the work that I did either prevented from opening, or closed, eight gambling casinos, and we will never know how many marriages and lives were saved by the work that I did.”

The Georgia CRs finally give Reed a polite hand for his creative stab at self-redemption. A few awkward minutes later, Reed is climbing the steps toward the exit, wearing an iron-willed smile

while making an elaborate show of “gripping and grinning,” even though only a few hands reach out to him. It’s one more sign of his mounting desperation to project the air of a winner—a desperation that led to embarrassment in January, when Reed’s campaign offered \$20 and a free hotel stay to supporters who would attend the Georgia Christian Coalition’s annual convention and cheer for the man who invented the coalition.

When he announced his candidacy last spring, Reed figured that his biggest challenge would be winning over moderate, “party regular” Republicans who worried he might be too far right to win a general election. But the Abramoff scandal has forced him to fight for votes he should have been able to take for granted—especially those of Christian conservatives. Reed’s struggle to hold on to their loyalty has given this lieutenant governor’s race a rare national significance. Judgment day in Georgia, July 18, when Republicans cast their primary votes, is shaping up as a crucial test of how Christian conservatives will respond to their leaders’ entanglement in the ugliest corruption scandal since Teapot Dome. In the words of Georgia native Ed Kilgore, vice president for policy at the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), Reed has become “the Abramoff mine canary.”

It’s easy to see why. As executive director of the Christian Coalition from its founding in 1989 till his departure in 1997, Reed got—and took—the lion’s share of credit for transforming the politically unsophisticated evangelical right into a disciplined Republican Party machine. “Ralph Reed symbolizes the rise of the Christian right to political power,” says Frederick Clarkson, author of *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*. “He became the story of the movement—the face and voice for those millions of conservative Christians in the mainstream press. Now he’s becoming a symbol of what’s gone awry.”

Last June Georgia’s former GOP House minority leader, Bob Irvin, blasted Reed in an *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* op-ed. “His M.O. is to tell evangelical Christians that his cause of the moment, for which he has been hired, is their religious duty,” Irvin fumed. “As an evangelical myself, I resent Christianity being used simply to help Reed’s business.”

Irvin’s dart went straight to the heart of the matter. While grassroots organizing has been the key to lifting evangelicals to power in the GOP, the movement’s political model has mostly mirrored the traditional hierarchy of churches, with trusted leaders setting the tone and issuing marching orders to their foot soldiers. What if the generals—the Reeds and James Dobsons—are proven to care more about power and money than stamping out abortion or homosexuality? The damage to evangelical politics would clearly be immense. So would the damage to the Republican Party, which cannot carry a national election without the full enthusiasm and participation of the evangelical troops.

“Think what will happen on Election Day when 2 to 3 percent of the previously most passionate Republicans stay home,” Joseph Farah, editor and publisher of the right-wing *WorldNetDaily*, warned in January. “Think of what it will mean when 20 to 30 percent of the grassroots activists Republicans

have counted on to work for them don’t show up.”

Other evangelical leaders and allies are taking their hits in L’Affaire Abramoff—former House majority leader Tom DeLay, in particular, along with antigay crusader Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition and right-wing Rabbi Daniel Lapin of Toward Tradition, both of whom allegedly took money from Abramoff client eLottery to help defeat a federal ban on Internet gambling. But Reed’s involvement runs the deepest and broadest by far. And the particulars of his cloak-and-dagger activities strike the evangelical political movement straight in the gut.

From 1999 to 2002 Reed’s Georgia-based consulting firm, Century Strategies, set up “anti-gambling” coalitions in Alabama, Louisiana and Texas to oppose proposed new casinos (and in one case to shut down an existing one). Reed convinced dozens of influential pastors in those states, along with some of the biggest national names on the evangelical right—Dobson, Phyllis Schlafly, Gary Bauer, Donald Wildmon, Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson—to mobilize their flocks in a series of successful anti-casino campaigns. The front groups Reed established, with upright names like Citizens Against Legalized Gambling, organized religious rallies, sent out mass mailings decrying the evils of wagering and flooded legislators and state officials with thousands of calls from concerned Christians.

These were the same techniques Reed had groomed to perfection in his Christian Coalition days—the same techniques that groups like Dobson’s Focus on the Family continue to use on issues ranging from abortion restrictions to Senate filibusters. But this time, the concerned Christians were unwittingly doing the bidding of gambling interests—of Abramoff’s Indian casino clients, who were forking over millions to fend off competitors.

In Texas alone, Reed reportedly raked in more than \$4 million for organizing fake anti-gambling campaigns and strong-arming Republican officials while failing to register with the state as a lobbyist, a criminal offense. (He also failed to register for his clandestine lobbying efforts on behalf of another Abramoff client, Channel One, the in-school network loathed by “pro-family” conservatives.) Three public-interest groups in Texas filed a complaint against Reed in December for failing to register his lobbying; he could have been jailed for up to one year if convicted. But in March prosecutor David Escamilla declined to pursue the investigation, citing a two-year statute of limitations in the Texas lobbying law. By hiding his activities cannily enough that it took three years to expose them, Reed squirmed out of trouble on a technicality.

But the fallout from Reed’s “anti-gambling” efforts has already flattened the once mighty Texas Christian Coalition. The equally powerful Christian Coalition of Alabama, which helped Reed fend off video poker and state lottery bills in 1999 and 2000—spending some \$850,000 that has now been traced back to the casino-owning Mississippi Band of Choctaws—has also fallen into a tailspin, with its most popular political champion, former “Ten Commandments Judge” Roy Moore, trailing by almost thirty percentage points in the GOP primary race for governor.

Reed has denied from the start that he knew Abramoff was paying him with gambling money. But their e-mail exchanges,

Bob Moser, a Nation contributing writer, is editorial director of The Nation Institute’s Investigative Fund.

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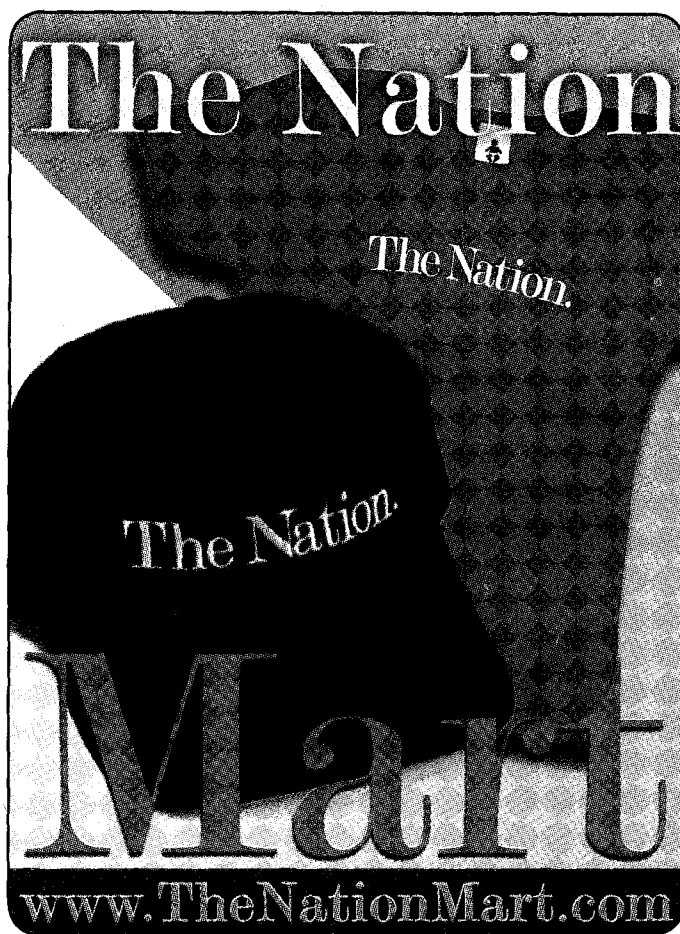
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made public by the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, indicate that Reed knew where his bread was being buttered. In a 1999 e-mail Abramoff asked him to "get me invoices as soon as possible so I can get Choctaw to get us checks ASAP." In 2000 Abramoff told Reed, "The firm has held back all payments pending receipt of a check from Choctaw." The correspondence also shows that Reed played an active role in diverting tribal money through *faux* Christian-right groups like the US Family Network. Rather than receive his payoffs directly from Abramoff, or from the casino-owning tribes he represented, Reed made sure his checks came from pure-sounding sources. ("That's sometimes called laundering," Senator Byron Dorgan archly commented during Indian Affairs hearings last spring.) So byzantine was the whole arrangement that it sounds almost farcical in a 2001 message from Abramoff explaining a delay in paying Reed: "The originating entity had to transfer to a separate account before they transferred it to the entity which is going to transfer it to you."

While the Abramoff scandals are plenty damning on their own, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* has uncovered a pattern of similar instances in which Reed "tapped into his vast network of conservative religious activists" to do the bidding of big-money clients. In one example from 1998 Reed concocted the Alliance of Christian Ministries in China, a group of missionary organizations supporting favorable trade status for China purportedly to benefit efforts to spread the Gospel there. But the alliance turned out to be an empty shell, serving the interests of Reed clients, including Boeing, which hoped to sell \$120 billion worth of airplanes to China. Like his efforts on behalf of the Indian casinos, Reed's pro-China lobbying was not just dishonest but hypocritical to boot. Just as he often preached against the "nationwide scourge" of gambling, Reed had spoken out consistently against favorable trade status for China. "We believe that human and civil rights and religious freedom and liberty should be at the center of our foreign policy," he piously declared at a 1997 Christian Coalition press conference, just one year before setting up the phony alliance. "We believe that if the United States makes the center of its foreign policy profits rather than people, and money rather than human rights, then we will have lost our soul as a nation."

Given the Reed scandal's potential to erode evangelicals' faith in politics, it's no surprise that the main reaction among movement leaders has thus far been "an embarrassing silence," to quote Ken Connor, the former head of Dobson's Family Research Council. Even Richard Land, the normally forthcoming Southern Baptist powerhouse, has been rendered speechless. ("Dr. Land has decided to pass on this topic," his spokeswoman told *The Nation* after first agreeing to an interview.) President Bush's staff has gone to considerable lengths to keep Reed, who chaired the Bush/Cheney campaign in the Southeast in 2004, safely away from the President—and from a photo op Reed desperately needs—during his most recent appearances in Georgia. One notable exception to the official silence has been Marvin Olasky, a longtime Texas adviser of Bush who literally wrote the book on "compassionate conservatism." Olasky, editor of the most popular organ of the evangelical right, *World* magazine, has been outspoken in his view that Reed "has damaged Christian political work by

confirming for some the stereotype that evangelicals are easily manipulated and that evangelical leaders use moral issues to line their pockets." *World* reporter Jamie Dean has filed a series of fearless Reed exposés, causing a sensation in the evangelical community. Her dogged questioning of Christian-right leaders whom Reed dragged into his "anti-gambling" campaigns inspired sharp criticism from the most powerful of them all, Focus on the Family leaders Dobson and Tom Minnery, in a February radio broadcast. "They have a reporter who wanted me to dump on Ralph Reed," said an exasperated Minnery, explaining why he refused to answer questions from *World*.

Nobody has nailed the discomfort better than Reed's old cohort Pat Robertson. "You know that song about the Rhinestone Cowboy," he told *The New York Times* last April as the Abramoff-Reed connections began to go public. "'There's been a load of compromising on the road to my horizon.' The Bible says you can't serve God and Mammon." Robertson has subsequently fallen quiet on the matter—perhaps because he knows that a willingness to serve both God and Mammon has been indispensable to the success of evangelical politics. It's the very glue that holds together the awkward marriage of Christian moralism and high-rolling Republicanism.

"Historically, many conservative Christians were not involved in politics because they saw it as inherently corrupt," says John Green, a senior fellow with the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. That all began to change in the 1970s and '80s when preachers like Robertson and Falwell joined "pro-family" conservatives like Dobson, Schlafly and Tim LaHaye in popularizing the opposite idea: that it was actually a Christian's duty to participate in politics. And not just participate: win. But the only way for evangelical activists to win, at least in the short term while they remained a minority, was to team up with more secular allies—"co-belligerents," in the term coined by Francis Schaeffer, one of the most influential apostles of this new effort to remake America into a "Christian nation."

More powerfully than any other figure, Ralph Reed embodied—and promoted—this odd new alchemy of godliness and hardball politics. To both the Christian-right soldiers and the money masters of the GOP, Reed's slick style and winning ways offered living, breathing assurance that Christians could play power politics with the same ruthless efficacy as anybody else. But right from the get-go there was a dark undercurrent that troubled some in the movement. The Christian Coalition made an immediate splash in several local and statewide elections in 1990 and 1992, but did it largely by means of deception—among other things, allegedly using churches as political headquarters and spending tax-exempt funds for partisan purposes. Candidates were advised to hide their social views. The coalition's famous voter guides distorted some Democratic candidates' records to make them look "anti-family." "It's like guerrilla warfare," Reed boasted to a reporter in 1992. "If you reveal your location, all it does is allow your opponent to improve his artillery bearings. It's better to move quietly, with stealth, under cover of night."

Reed's bellicose comments and shady tactics stirred whispers about the sincerity of his Christian conversion. (Like Tom DeLay, he told a sketchy story of being "born again" in the

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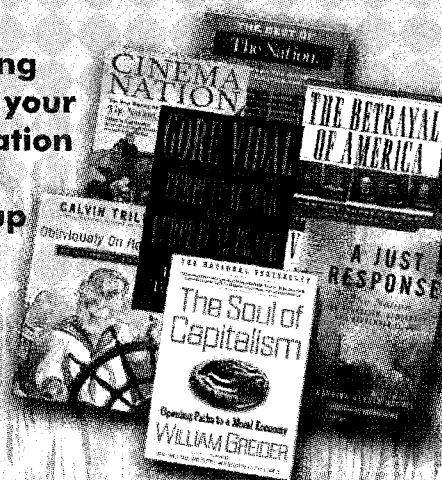
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WHO OWNS WATER?

by MADDY HADWIN
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FIGHTING
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mid-1980s, just in time for the rise of Christian right politics.) Even Reed's own mother, Marcy, confessed to a reporter, "I used to tell people he was going to be either President of the United States or Al Capone." It was widely suspected that Reed grossly exaggerated both the coalition's membership numbers (apparently closer to 600,000 at its peak, rather than the 1.7 million he claimed) and the distribution of its voter guides (often found discarded in bundles). When Reed hastily exited the coalition in 1997—leaving it to flounder under a cloud of lawsuits from disgruntled employees, federal investigations into illegal ties with the Republican Party and declining membership—the whispers grew louder. But never loud enough to wreck his reputation as the prince of evangelical politics.

"He got a pretty easy pass on any questions of hypocrisy," says Clyde Wilcox, a Georgetown University professor who's followed the movement from its inception. "There's been a tendency to say, 'I worry that he might be fudging the corners, but I'm not gonna look. He's doing too much good for our cause.'"

Now it's virtually impossible to look away. Underneath the official silence, the lobbying scandals have revived many evangelicals' old qualms. "So far, it hasn't risen to a level where it would deactivate the Christian right," says Green. "But for the first time in a long time, when I'm talking to my evangelical friends, I keep hearing: 'My preacher used to say when I was growing up that we ought to stay out of politics because it was dirty. You know, he was right.'"

For years now, evangelical leaders have been asserting, as Reed writes in his 1996 manifesto, *Active Faith*, that there is "no biblical basis" for seeing politics as inherently corrupt. Now the likes of Olasky and Connor are reminding the faithful that the Bible does have a few things to say on the subject. "As early as the eighth century B.C., the prophet Isaiah railed against bribery and corruption in the public square," Connor wrote recently in *BP* (Baptist Press) *News*. "In levying his indictment against the nation of Judah and forecasting the judgment of God, Isaiah complained, 'Your rulers are rebels, companions of thieves; they all love bribes and chase after gifts.'"

The miraculous news from Georgia is that Ralph Reed still has a decent shot at getting himself elected lieutenant governor. His Republican primary opponent, State Senator Casey Cagle, continues to trail in the polls—though just barely—after a full year of sensational revelations that would have long since demolished most politicians' chances. "Reed has to figure, if he's still competitive in the race, after all that's already come out, he's got a good chance to win," says Wilcox.

If he does pull it off, it will mostly be a tribute to the persistence of evangelicals' "see no evil" attitude toward their political leaders. The Republican Party leadership in Georgia, for its part, has tried everything short of paid political assassination to force Reed out of the race. In February twenty-one of thirty-four Republican state senators took the unprecedented step of signing a letter publicly urging Reed—who steered the party to historic victories as state chairman in 2002—to withdraw his candidacy "for the good of the Republican Party." As the GOP's nominee for lieutenant governor, they fear he would drag down their other candidates for statewide office, including incumbent Governor Sonny Perdue, who faces a tough match-up in November with

either the current lieutenant governor, Mark Taylor, or the secretary of state, Cathy Cox. There's been a low rumble of rumors that Reed will pull out in late April, when Georgia candidates officially file for office during "candidate qualifying week." But few believe them. "He really can't afford not to stay in," says Charles Bullock, a political scientist at the University of Georgia. "He's getting terrible press everywhere, and his consulting business is in bad shape. If he wins, it would raise his stock again. He can say, 'Look, the people who know me best voted for me.'"

Evangelical leaders in Georgia have mostly remained supportive of their tarnished idol. "He's stood for our issues. He's not wavered," Christian Coalition chair Sadie Fields told the *Journal-Constitution*. "It was important for us to hear him say, 'I shouldn't have done it,'" said Tim Echols, a popular Christian right leader who runs a youth group called TeenPact, which served as the venue in December for Reed to issue his first semi-apology for his casino lobbying. Maurice Atkinson, vice chair of the Cobb County Republican Party and former supporter of Reed, appears to be in the minority with his view: "I believe in grace, but I also believe in accountability."

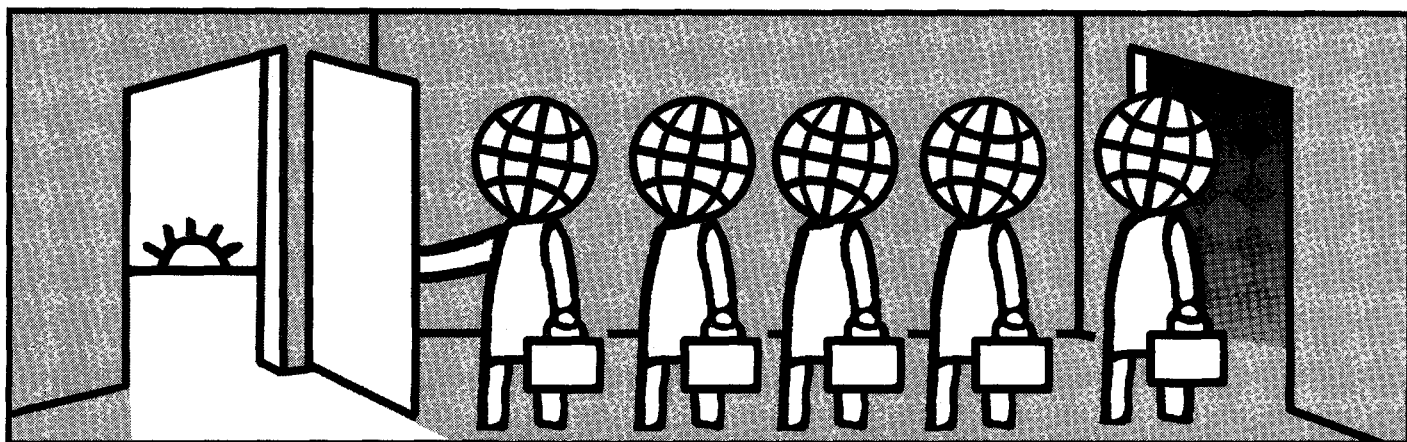
"His biggest problem is not the Christian right but Republican regulars who view him as a carpetbagger," says the DLC's Kilgore. Cagle is trying to capitalize on Reed's national notoriety, regularly reminding folks while campaigning, "I'm not a lobbyist. I don't spend my time in Washington." A 40-year-old businessman and "seventh-generation North Georgian" with the deep drawl and aw-shucks manner to prove it, Cagle makes a vivid contrast to Reed's *GQ* glitz and accent-free news anchor's voice. His voting record is staunchly right-wing, too, including a near-perfect rating from the Christian Coalition of Georgia. "This isn't an ideological primary," says Kilgore. "Casey Cagle is just as crazy as Reed is." Which means that Georgia voters should steel themselves for Reed to, as he likes to say, "open the bomb bays" in a fiercely negative campaign against Cagle.

Reed also has to make himself look just as authentically Georgian as his opponent, which might be the toughest trick of all. At every campaign stop, in every piece of campaign literature, Reed repeats the new mantra of his embattled campaign: "Growing up in the North Georgia mountains, I learned the values that matter most—faith, family, freedom and hard work."

But Reed did not grow up in the North Georgia mountains. As he writes in *Active Faith*, "It all began in Miami, where I grew up. My childhood was hardly spent in the Bible Belt." Reed's family didn't move to Georgia until he was in his mid-teens. And when they did, as Nina Easton reports in *Gang of Five*, Reed was considered a "fast-talking Miami smart aleck" in Toccoa, the tiny mountain town where they settled. Even his best friend there, Donald Singer, remembered Reed showing "no demeanor of civility," his abrasive personality constantly clashing with the native Southerners around him.

At first blush it seems like a mighty inauspicious time for Ralph Reed, friend of Abramoff, to be fudging a fact as basic as where he comes from. But then again, why not? His whole unlikely career has been built on a foundation of fudges and falsehoods. And every step of the way, so far, he has found safe harbor and giddy encouragement in a strange community of politicized moralists who see no evil when it's on their side. ■

CHANGES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY REQUIRE A REBUILDING OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIAL CONTRACT AND THE RESHAPING AND DEMOCRATIZING OF GLOBALIZATION ITSELF.



IGOR KOPELITSKY

Taming Global Capitalism Anew

One of the greatest achievements of the twentieth century was a social contract that provided far more economic security and prosperity for working Americans than had existed in any previous period. But successive waves of changes in the world economy, together with the ascendancy of a strain of economic philosophy that puts the freedom of capital above the interests of society, have placed enormous strain on the postwar social contracts of all Western countries, resulting in stagnating wages, greater insecurity and levels of income and wealth inequality not seen since the early 1900s. And even more far-reaching challenges arising from the cur-

rent pattern of globalization, with its emphasis on the outsourcing of service as well as manufacturing jobs, may lie ahead.

Developing a strategy for taming global capitalism anew therefore constitutes the overriding challenge of our time. For that reason, we have invited some of the leading progressive thinkers in this country and a longtime observer of the American economy to offer their ideas on how the United States, as the major capitalist country and the major player in globalization, could reshape both capitalism and globalization in ways that build a new social contract serving the needs of working people everywhere.

—The Editors

A Progressive Response to Globalization

Joseph E. Stiglitz

Globalization is often viewed as posing a major threat to “capitalism with a human face.” Trade liberalization puts downward pressure on unskilled wages (and increasingly even skilled wages), increasing inequality in more developed countries. Countries trying to compete are repeatedly told to increase labor-market flexibility, code words for lowering the minimum wage and weakening worker protections. Competition for business puts pressure to reduce taxes on corporate income and on capital more generally, decreasing funds available for supporting basic investments in people and the safety net. And international agreements, such as Chapter 11 of NAFTA and the intellectual property provisions of the Uruguay Round of trade talks, have been used to short-circuit national democratic processes.

Yet Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries have shown that there is an alternative way to cope with globaliza-

tion. These countries are highly integrated into the global economy; but they are highly successful economies that still provide strong social protections and make high levels of investments in people. They have been successful in part because of these policies, not in spite of them. Full employment and strong safety nets enable individuals to undertake more risk (with the commensurate high rewards) without unduly worrying about the downside of failure. These countries have not abandoned the welfare state but have fine-tuned it to meet globalization's new demands. We should do the same.

At the same time, we must temper globalization itself—not by withdrawing behind protectionist borders and not by trying to enhance the well-being of our citizens at the expense of those abroad who are even poorer. Rather, we should reshape globalization to make it more democratic, and we should moderate its pace to give countries more time to cope. There will still be losers in a reshaped globalization, but the vast majority of citizens in both the North and the South will be better off with the right policies.

Coping with globalization entails recognizing both the consequences of globalization and the limitations in the stand-

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ard responses. Increased education is important, but it is not enough. At this time we should make taxation more progressive in order to offset the economic forces increasing inequality, not decrease the degree of progressivity as we have done in the past five years. We should strengthen our safety nets, not weaken them. The United States has one of the worst unemployment insurance programs in the advanced industrial countries. A redesign of our social insurance program to make it more of an integrated lifetime social insurance program, along the lines of the provident funds of Singapore, could provide substantially more complete insurance coverage without weakening economic incentives.

Most important, we should have a true commitment to full employment. The high priests of the financial markets have convinced many of the dangers of even moderate inflation, contending that even slight increases in inflation are very costly, especially to the poor, and that the costs of reversing inflation are extremely high. This is all nonsense, as we demonstrated in successive issues of the Economic Report of the President while I was chair of the Council of Economic Advisers. Today we should be worried not about inflation but about our lackluster growth, which leaves a large "jobs deficit." Full employment is the most important social protection. And even moderate unemployment, even of the disguised kind (discouraged workers, increased numbers on disability

and large numbers who work part-time involuntarily), puts downward pressure on wages, exacerbating the problems brought on by globalization.

There are two other elements of a progressive agenda that are sometimes not given sufficient attention. The first is enhancing savings among lower-income individuals, including by matching grants (for example, by cashable tax credits). Some conservatives have embraced the concept of the ownership society—by which they too often mean simply that those who own more get to

own still more. But it is important for individuals of modest means to have a cushion to protect themselves against the vagaries of the market.

The second is enhancing investment in research, strengthening our competitive advantages, so necessary if we are to maintain robust growth. Today, a disproportionate amount of our nation's research budget is spent on military objectives; funds for basic science, or even advances in applied technology that would improve living standards and help us protect the environment, are scarce.

Globalization's advocates often portray it as presenting unprecedented opportunities. For those committed to creating a society based on principles of social justice, it is also presenting unprecedented challenges. These are some of the elements of the progressive response to these challenges.

A New Domestic and Global Strategy

Thea Lee

The challenge we face today in the United States is how to engage in the global economy without decimating our own middle class and gutting our social regulatory system. The logic of global capitalism as currently practiced is to drive down workers' wages, weaken their bargaining power and strip away their social protections in both rich and poor countries, while simultaneously encouraging and celebrating the excesses of debt-driven consumerism.

But this system is inherently unstable and unsustainable. The United States is running a current account deficit of more than \$700 billion a year to fund consumption we can't afford. This is not financially sustainable. Meanwhile, many workers in developing countries work twelve to sixteen hours a day, in dangerous conditions, without the right to form an independent union, at poverty pay, so that multinational corporations can boost their bottom line. That is not politically sustainable.

Any policy agenda to build a better system must have both a national and an international component. At the national level, we need to fight for workers' rights to form unions and bargain for decent wages and working conditions; we need affordable and equitable healthcare and retirement security systems that do not create competitive disadvantages for domestic companies; and we need to invest in education, technology and infrastructure, especially in manufacturing.

While national reforms are critical to improving workers' daily lives, we must not ignore the global component, because if we don't get that piece right, unregulated global competitive pressures will eventually undermine any domestic reforms and worker gains. Trying to protect the American middle class without changing our interaction with the global economy is like pouring water into a leaky vessel.

For the United States, there are three key components to a new global strategy: taxes, currency and trade rules. In order to bring about real change, we need to work with domestic businesses as well as with our global justice allies. Domestic producers are equally frustrated by US policies that make it virtually impossible for them to compete in the global economy while producing on American soil.

First, our corporate tax system is insanely inefficient and unfair. American taxpayers currently subsidize the offshoring of their own jobs (at a rate of at least \$7 billion a year) through policies that exempt income earned offshore from corporate taxes. Very few other countries have similar systems, and most have some form of "border adjustable" tax that exempts exports from sales or value-added taxes. Our current system taxes exports, while subsidizing the offshoring of jobs. We need a complete overhaul of our corporate tax system to address this self-inflicted wound.

Second, the overvalued dollar is killing our domestic manufacturing sector and exacerbating the problems in tradable services (a category that now covers everything not nailed to the floor). While the high dollar policy serves the Wal-Marts of the corporate world very well, it creates almost insurmountable competitive problems for domestic producers. The Bush Administration has clearly decided to cater to the retailers,



Joseph E. Stiglitz, University Professor at Columbia University, won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2001 and is the author of The Roaring Nineties.

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outsourcers and importers. It is now up to Congress to pass legislation that will force China and Japan to stop manipulating their currencies to gain competitive advantage.

Third, the framework of rules in the global trading system (through the WTO and our own domestic agreements) is severely lopsided in favor of multinational corporate interests—leaving workers, small farmers, the environment and the poor ever more vulnerable and weak. If we understand the central problem of the global economy to be one of an imbalance of power and income distribution, then it becomes clear that global trade rules need to be rewritten to insure that workers have a voice at their workplaces and in national political debates. Linking core workers' rights as defined by the International Labor Organization to market access would do three important things: It would empower workers and give them a fighting chance to bargain for their fair share of the wealth they create; it would help build a middle class, so that workers can buy some of the goods they produce; and it would put a leash on multinational corporations by taking the profit out of exploitation.

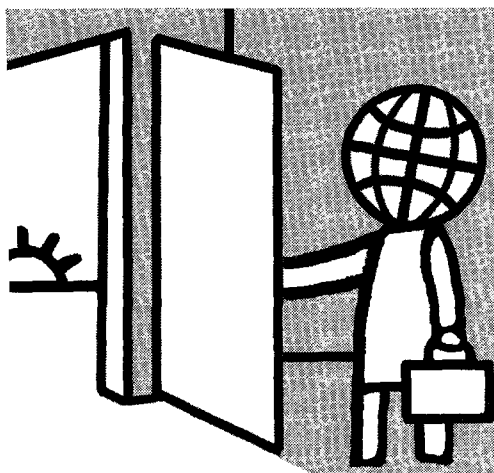
No single action will get us out of the hole we're in, but together these tax, currency and trade policy pieces point us in the right direction.

Thea Lee is policy director of the AFL-CIO.

Re-creating Public-Interest Politics

Will Hutton

Looked at from Europe and Asia, the US economy has emerged as a formidable global competitor with the leading brands, the leading technologies and a careful strategy of producing low-value-added goods in Asia while nurturing high technology at home. If American blue-collar jobs have been lost in mass-production manufacturing, they have been created in distribution, transportation and services—and also in the high-value-added “knowledge economy.”



Thus American blue-collar workers are split into four components: those under direct competition from Asia, those working in the blue-collar service sector, those directly or indirectly benefiting from high-value-added knowledge work and those who work in the public sector. Each component is in very different circumstances—and

even in the public sector, the appeal of trade unions and collective action is fading. Democrats have allowed too many of these new categories of workers to be recruited to the Republican cause with their redefinition of the public interest as private. The

repercussions for the battle of ideas have been global.

The first task in any rebirth of liberal politics is to recognize contemporary realities—the primacy of a highly individualized culture with a highly segmented working class with very different objective interests—and not hanker to re-create an order that is past. Liberals need to be clear-eyed about the extent to which the current world system benefits the United States; for example, Chinese goods are cheap, boost real incomes and create a disinflationary climate of low interest rates that has provided a massive economic stimulus. Protection might benefit one of the four components of the working class—those in direct competition with Asia—but it would hurt the other three, not to mention poverty-stricken Asian peasants now delighted to have the opportunity for self-improvement.

The second task is to understand that winning the argument at the big political level, as much as detailed policies, is a condition for winning power. In this regard, what has to be done is not to make the case for “government” or “collective” action, which goes against the contemporary grain of American political culture, but to recapture the idea of the public and the importance of the public institutions through which it is delivered. For example, American universities—among the country’s great public institutions—are the envy of the world, but they have increasingly become the preserve of the children of a rich elite who can afford the stunning fees, with a consequent alarming reduction in social mobility. They must be reclaimed; even the top private universities recognize the “publicness” of their vocation and the degree to which the “public” is currently being corrupted. Social mobility is a public interest, and its decline is of public concern. The argument needs to be made in those terms.

I would go further still. The United States was colonized by the values of the Enlightenment and its commitment to reason, to checks and balances in government, and to the importance of a lively public sphere. It was these Enlightenment values interacting with the great nineteenth-century egalitarian tradition that gave the United States its dynamism as much as its go-getting capitalism. Now the values of the market and increasingly religion have been allowed to crowd out the vitality of the entire fabric of Enlightenment institutions. The liberal case surely has to be to reassert why these institutions are so important and to remake the case in today’s context—hence the instinctive liberal support for open-sourcing, the public dissemination of knowledge and the fair distribution of access to information. I would also add the old progressive case against excessive corporate power and breathe life into the Sherman and Clayton acts. Trustbusting and taking on the creationists are essential parts of the story.

We also need to revive institutions of grassroots altruism and solidarity. Nowhere in the industrialized West has the progressive cause gone far without the support of organized labor; but the conventional trade union no longer captures the imagination or hearts of working people. Only when unions start growing with a much more clearheaded sense of what their members want and what can be delivered will there be a more secure political base.

But it all starts with associating liberals with the idea of the public in its best Enlightenment sense, showing how that has

worked for the United States in the past and could work for it in the future.

Will Hutton, a British writer, is the author of A Declaration of Interdependence (Norton) and is completing a new book on China and the United States.

Taming Predatory Capitalism

James K. Galbraith

In 1899 Thorstein Veblen described predation as a phase in the evolution of culture, "attained only when the predatory attitude has become the habitual and accredited spiritual attitude...when the fight has become the dominant note in the current theory of life." After an entire century's struggle to escape from this phase, we've suffered a relapse. The predators are everywhere unleashed; and the institutions built to contain them, from the United Nations to the AFL-CIO to the SEC, are everywhere under siege. Predation has again become the defining feature of economic life. Our first problem is to grasp this reality in full.

Postwar prosperity was built on a vast cut in the cost of security and the achievement of peace in Europe and much of Asia. The American role in the cold war system was to provide security; for this the dollar's role as anchor of the world trading system was our reward. But now, with Iraq, we are seen world-

wide as the leading predator state, promoting war as a solution rather than as the ultimate economic and human horror. For this, many would like to see our privileges revoked.

Corporate and financial fraud and political corruption form the second great domain of predatory capitalism. DeLay, Frist and Abramoff are the names in the news, but the tone is set by the leadership—Cheney of Halliburton and Bush of Harken Energy—a large predator and a small scavenger, specialists in cronyism and expert in nothing else. When predation becomes the dominant business and political form, the foundation of capitalism crumbles. Markets lose legitimacy, investors fly to safety in bonds, and authentic innovation and shared growth both become unattainable. The solution must be not just a change of parties but a new political class, including a new media not under corrupt control.

Then there is the predatory attack on unions and labor, in which many economists are complicit. This is far advanced in America and most visible today in Europe, as reflected by the doctrine of flexible labor markets, which claims that the conquest of unemployment requires cutting the pay of the working poor. But there is no history of unemployment ever being conquered this way—certainly not in the United States of the 1940s, 1960s or 1990s. Modern Europe also affords counterexamples of equalizing growth, from Norway and Denmark to recent gains in Spain, as well as object lessons, most recently in France, of the catastrophe of designed exclusion.

The way forward is a program for growth and justice built on the needs of the working population and the middle class. To

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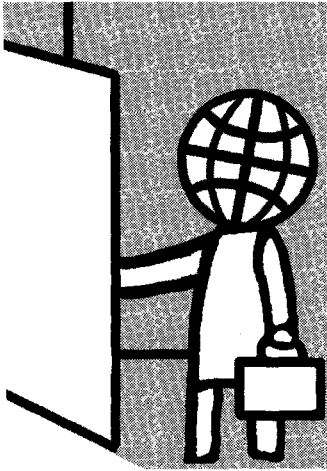
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begin with, in the United States there must be a powerful demolition of the old political order: We need elections where all votes are cast and counted. The campaign against voter repression is the essential civil rights struggle of our time, even though most progressives don't seem to realize it yet. Prevailing will require fundamental reform such as the introduction of nationwide vote-by-mail (the Oregon system). Without that, and also many relentless prosecutions, nothing else will be achieved.

The economic commitment, in turn, must be to full employment here, to egalitarian growth in Europe and Japan, and to a worldwide development strategy favoring civil infrastructure and the poor. Public capital investment, stronger unions and a



high minimum wage should frame the domestic agenda. Overseas, crack-downs on tax havens and the arms trade, a stabilizing financial system and an end to the debt peonage of poor countries should be among the priorities of a new structure.

The truths are that egalitarian growth is efficient, that speculation must be regulated, that crime starts at the top and that peace is the primary public good. These truths are poison to predators and are the reason predators have fostered and subsidized an entire cynical intellec-

tual movement devoted to "free" markets made up of a class of professor-courtiers now everywhere in view. Taming predatory capitalism could start with breaking this econo-corporate analytical axis, and reviving the concept of countervailing power, first formulated by John Kenneth Galbraith in 1952.

James K. Galbraith, chair of the board of Economists for Peace and Security, teaches at the University of Texas and is senior scholar with the Levy Economics Institute.

A North American Social Contract

Jeff Faux

Social justice will come to the global economy only when enough people in enough nation-states are organized across borders to demand it. Yet in a world of 6.5 billion people in more than 200 separate countries—representing wide differences in culture, living standards and political consciousness—the idea of a popular transnational politics effective enough to humanize the relentlessly interconnecting markets seems impossibly utopian.

But if we think of establishing a global social contract as a step-by-step process, in which political solidarity is built first among neighboring societies, region by region, it becomes easier to imagine. The ongoing struggle for a "Social Europe" to match the expanded European capitalist market offers the best real-world example of the promise of a regional social contract.

We should open up a second front in this global class war in North America. The North American Free Trade Agreement was

the template for the neoliberal global project. In its protection of corporate interests and its undermining of democracy, NAFTA is even more reactionary than the World Trade Organization. Not surprisingly, it has reinforced inequality and insecurity in all three countries—most visibly demonstrated by the daily migration of Mexicans across the border, desperately seeking jobs. NAFTA's failure makes North America a microcosm of globalization's Catch-22: Bringing social justice to global markets requires global institutions to regulate global business, but these institutions are dominated by elites who oppose social justice.

After twelve years, integration among the three North American economies has gone too far to reverse. So it is time for progressives in all three countries to mobilize together to promote a social contract on their own continent. This does not mean merging into one country. Rather, it means the creation of a cross-border political movement to challenge the agenda of elites in all three countries, who established NAFTA precisely to escape democratic constraints on their wealth and power.

The problems of developing political solidarity across North America's national borders are different from but not necessarily more difficult than those encountered among the twenty-five countries that now make up the European Union. A cross-border movement could build on the many organizational and personal relationships that already exist. Early steps to gain experience and trust could include joint actions against corporate abuses that span the continent. A simultaneous strike against a common employer or a protest against a common environmental abuse could dramatize the interests that people in all three countries share. Progressives could develop a common legislative agenda, introducing the same proposals in all three legislatures. This agenda might come to form the basis of a new North American social contract that would include the following elements:

§ A Bill of Rights for citizens of North America, enforceable in all countries, that would reassert the primacy of civil protection of individuals and democratic government over the extraordinary privileges NAFTA gives to corporate investors.

§ A New Continental Deal, in which Canada and the United States commit substantial long-term aid to Mexico in order to nurture higher and sustainable economic growth while Mexico commits to policies (independent trade unions, minimum wages, equitable taxes) that assure a wider distribution of the benefits of growth.

§ A Continental Development Strategy that shifts the economic policy objectives of all three countries from subsidizing pursuit of global profits by corporate investors to support of greater industrial self-sufficiency, resource conservation and increased investment in health and education. Driven by these goals, a progressive North American Customs Union would manage modest levels of balanced trade with the rest of the world.

Creating a politics around such a continental social contract could help inspire progressive activists to develop their own common vision of the future to replace NAFTA's nihilist nightmare of unregulated capitalism. Such a movement would also help reinforce beleaguered progressives in Europe, South America and Southeast Asia (China and India are regions in themselves), who are trying to bring to life regional models of development that respect human life and dignity. Finally, it could help undercut American elites' messianic illusions of their moral right to rule

the world—which infects liberals as well as conservatives—and force them to turn to the humbler but more productive task of making their own part of the globe a better place.

Jeff Faux was the founder and is now a distinguished fellow at the Economic Policy Institute. His latest book is The Global Class War.

Build the High Road Here

Joel Rogers

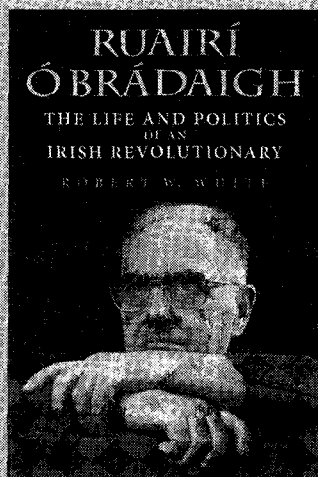
American progressives have lots of ideas on the alternative international rules and institutions in monetary policy, finance, trade, human rights and development needed to make globalization work better for the North and South. What we lack is the power to implement them. Under the “dictatorship of no alternatives” that defines current policy debates, it is important to propose one to the fraying “Washington Consensus” and seek allies, particularly in this NAFTA hemisphere, in its enactment. But we should not wait on international reform to build democratic power in this economy, starting from where we are right now. We should build a high-road—high-wage, low-waste, democratically accountable—economy right here. Doing so will give focus to domestic efforts, connect them practically to international ones and eventually yield the organization, experience and confident social base we want to contribute to global fights. Building the high

road here should be at least half of any international strategy.

Of course, some progressives think internationalization already dooms this enterprise—that capital’s mobility will defeat any attempt at increasing democratic control over the economy. But they’re mistaken. Economies don’t just slide around on a frictionless, flat world. They have gravity and traction. The economic importance of place hasn’t been destroyed by internationalization but in many ways has increased. Capital markets are far from perfect, and capital is less mobile than commonly assumed. And some constraints on capital are actually a net gain to it, not a loss.

Around the country, hundreds of largely isolated projects are already showing this. They include worker-training and skill-certification programs that increase productivity while capturing it in income; the use of union pension funds to stabilize and grow distressed local economies while generating returns on investment; “smart growth” policies that reduce commuting times and lower real housing costs while improving the environment; living-wage and allied efforts to raise standards on company performance while increasing productivity; and the Apollo Alliance program for good jobs and energy independence. These efforts are considered by many progressives to be a sidebar to their main show and usually not even as a single class of activities. In fact, they are all examples of the high-road politics we should be pursuing.

This harnesses democracy as a force of production, a source of value, and not just value in the economy. It builds productive infrastructure (in part physical, in larger part institutional) that

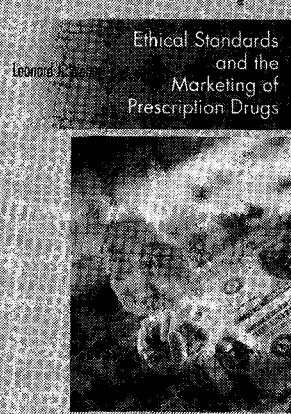


Ruairí Ó Brádaigh
The Life and Politics of an Irish Revolutionary
Robert W. White
Foreword by Ed Moloney
“In a very real sense, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh can... be said to be the last, or one of the last Irish Republicans. Studies of the Provisional movement to date have invariably focused more on the Northerners and the role of people

like Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness. But an understanding of them is not possible without appreciating where they came from and from what tradition they have broken. Ruairí Ó Brádaigh is that tradition and that is why this account of his life and politics is so important.”

—from the foreword by Ed Moloney, author of *A Secret History of the IRA*
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Profits before People?

Ethical Standards and the Marketing of Prescription Drugs
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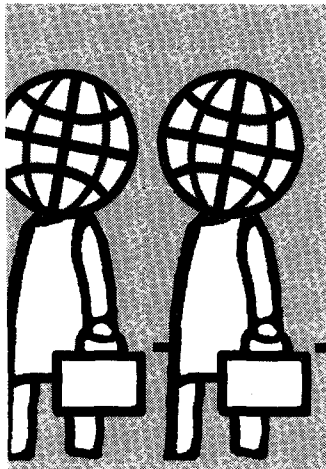
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adds value, reduces waste and captures the benefits of doing both. Such infrastructure attracts capital by increasing its return but also grounds capital by its own immobility. And with capital's exit threats thus reduced, real bargaining can again begin. The essence of that bargaining is demanding more of capital than is now demanded by markets—less pollution, higher wages, better labor relations, more community investment—in exchange for the infrastructure that allows capital to meet the demands profitably under competitive conditions.

None of this is rocket science. We already know how to *add value* in places by improving education and worker training;



increasing research and commercialization capacity; providing the marketing, financial and other business services that are beyond the capacities of individual firms; and helping to cluster firms to realize complementary strengths while enlisting workers in their upgrading. We know how to *reduce waste* by establishing markets and making direct investment in renewable energy and more resource-efficient—and, with accurate accounting, much *cheaper*—energy, housing, transportation and consumer durables. We

know how to improve government efficiency by democratizing elections, applying the private sector's metrics revolution to its operations and engaging citizen organizations in open-source problem-solving and regulatory enforcement. Doing these things together improves living standards by strengthening democracy. It shows democracy as a solution in organizing daily life, not part of the problem.

This is not a new insight. Markets can't set rules for themselves, solve their collective-action problems or elicit wide voluntary citizen contribution. Democracy's ability to do them all is its signature strength, and there are no limits on their being done better and better—thus producing more wealth, more citizen engagement and wider freedom in future choice. This directly helps immobile workers, even under internationalization. Indeed, even in the “worst case” of perfect competition, with instantaneous capital adjustment to changes in expected after-tax rates of profit, *all* gains from such place-based democratic efficiency would go to the immobile workers who call those places home.

Neoliberalism declares unfettered business domination our best bet for material well-being. We should declare high-road democracy a better bet, and invite others to place it with us. We will not lack for takers in the United States. Americans are sick to death of “business as usual,” and desperate for an alternative that works. And our working class wants more of government than death and taxes, more of life than their irrelevance, more of their “leaders” than fake empathy and real contempt. A role in constructing a better economy, and a society fit to live in, is what paving the high road provides.

Joel Rogers, a Nation contributing editor, teaches at the University of Wisconsin.

Universal Capitalism

Marcellus Andrews

The non-college-educated majority of working Americans, and increasingly even some college-educated workers, face two long-term problems. First, the buying power of their wages cannot keep pace with the cost of the things they need, including healthcare, housing and schooling. Second, their path to upward economic mobility is disappearing because stagnant and falling real wages combined with ever more severe economic segregation limit their ability to invest in themselves or their children, whether alone or collectively, because of the weakened tax base of working-class communities.

It is very difficult to find a way to reverse the downward pull of globalization and global labor migration on the wages of modestly educated people. But that does not mean that we are without a way of improving the standard of living of working people. Ironically, the problem may provide its own solution. Let me explain. Contemporary economic trends are pushing the wages of workers down while boosting the returns to financial capital and knowledge capital. That being the case, the best way to promote economic opportunity for low-wage workers and especially their children is to pioneer collective forms of capital ownership and wealth accumulation. In short, we should work to make every American a capital owner.

One way to proceed is for the federal government to reserve a portion of each year's tax receipts—say, 1 percent of GDP—for contributions into a collective capital account that is invested in a set of privately managed and federally supervised index funds. This capital fund, which I will call the Opportunity Fund, would be a trust fund completely free of government interference, subject to the same rules and regulations as other index and mutual funds. With contributions of tax receipts each year, its value would grow as the financial wealth of the country and the economy grows, generating not only capital gains but also interest and dividend income for the American people.

The interest and dividend income generated by the Opportunity Fund could be used in a variety of ways. It could be used to supplement working families' wage income by providing the funds needed for a basic annual income payment, whose size could vary according to such criteria as age, number of children and income level (perhaps with a work requirement to avoid dependency problems). It could also be used to fund a *child savings account system that builds up an inheritance* for every child on a progressive basis, with a larger share of the funds going to children from poorer families. The child savings account could be used when a person reaches age 18 or soon thereafter to pay for college, buy a home or establish a retirement nest egg, or to pursue some other approved investment purpose.

The Opportunity Fund form of universal capitalism is, in short, a method for redistributing capital income through collective savings. It could put a more sustainable floor on the income of workers than does our collapsing welfare state. It could provide the financial basis for the children of every working family to be able to invest in their own human capital and their own economic future. It could also help correct the

problem of economic and wealth inequality by creating a system of public inheritance that would help those who are not lucky enough to have been born into families that can pass on wealth to their children.

The Opportunity Fund is viable, practical and eminently doable right now. It is also the best way—perhaps the only way—to meet all of our country's most pressing economic and social objectives. Not only must we promote fairness within and between generations; we also need to save more and borrow less (subject of course to Keynes's lesson that too much saving too fast can cause recession and unemployment) so our country will have a more sustainable financial future. And we must also rebuild our economy by investing more in order to be able to better compete in today's world economy. The Opportunity Fund form of universal capitalism is an idea whose time has come because it can meet these objectives better than the current collapsing social welfare system.

Marcellus Andrews is the author of The Political Economy of Hope and Fear: Capitalism and the Black Condition in America.

Reform the International Financial System

Jane D'Arista

President Richard Nixon's decision to end the Bretton Woods agreement in 1971 was a milestone in the erosion of the Western social contract. This decision ushered in a new international monetary system—one in which international payments in dollars would be made by private banks rather than exchanges of gold between the Federal Reserve and other central banks, and the value of the dollar would be determined by supply and demand.

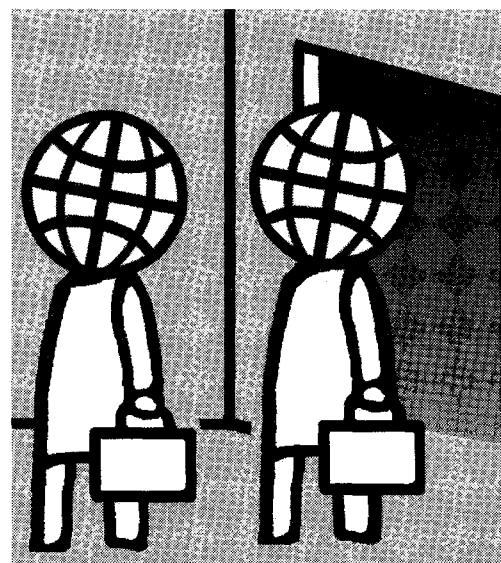
This new dollar-centric international monetary system has been a powerful force in shaping the global economy and is, to a great extent, responsible for the current pattern of globalization. For the United States, it has meant that US policy-makers have had to hold real US interest rates higher than those of other strong currencies and have had to accept a higher value of the dollar relative to other major currencies. This has not only led to slower US economic growth but has made US goods less competitive vis-à-vis those of other economies. Thus the cost of American dollar hegemony has been the loss of export markets and, along with it, the loss of relatively good jobs in the tradable-goods sector of the economy.

For developing countries, the consequences have been no less serious. The post-Bretton Woods system has pushed more and more economies toward export-led growth, which tends to suppress domestic wages and regulatory standards. Countries that cannot pay for imports and attract foreign investment in their own currencies must "earn" these external currencies, mainly dollars, by exporting more than they import to one or a few countries that issue the global means of payment. To remain competitive with other nations and insure continued access to these markets, they have adopted policies that

maintain downward pressure on wages and exchange rates and have shunned those that stimulate the demand necessary for sustained development.

This export-led growth paradigm created by the current international monetary system appears to have benefited the United States, the key currency country, especially in recent years, enabling us to consume more than we produce. A large share of the dollars that flow out of the United States to pay for imports flows back as investments in US financial assets. This foreign investment expands credit and allows Americans to spend more and save less. It also makes many Americans feel wealthier than they actually are by fueling inflated real estate and equity prices. But the cost of this pattern of growth has been the rapid buildup of both domestic and external debt.

This extraordinary growth in both US domestic and external debt now raises questions about the sustainability of this paradigm. Will highly indebted US households be forced to reduce their spending? If so, will a fall in imports reduce foreign financial investment, raise interest rates and induce or exacerbate a recession? And if the United States does, in fact, falter in its role as buyer of last resort in the global economy, what policies in which countries will insure continued growth?



To build a new global social contract, the underlying logic of the international financial system must be radically altered. What is needed is a new international monetary regime that can open access to international trade and investment for all nations on equal terms by allowing all currencies to be used in cross-border as well as domestic transactions. Keynes's international clearing agency could serve as a basic structure for such a system, reclaiming the public sector's role in global payments through a process of debiting and crediting cross-border payments against reserve accounts held with the clearing agency by member countries, with changes in reserves used to determine periodic adjustments in exchange rates.

An international monetary system based on the idea of an international clearing agency could also be designed to create a true lender of last resort, replacing the current ad hoc facilities, which depend on taxpayer donations. This would provide an effective channel for containing damaging financial crises and maintaining the financial stability needed for balanced growth in the global economy. It would also permit a resumption of the demand-led growth policies that are a necessary support for a new, global social contract.

Jane D'Arista is an author, lecturer and former Congressional staff economist who writes for the Financial Markets Center.

A SPECTER IS HAUNTING PROGRESSIVES—THE FAILURE TO OFFER A REAL ALTERNATIVE.

The Left Needs More Socialism

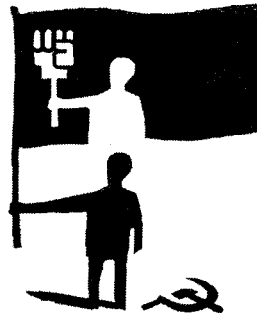
RONALD ARONSON

It's time to break a taboo and place the word "socialism" across the top of the page in a major American progressive magazine. Time for the left to stop repressing the side of ourselves that the right finds most objectionable. Until we thumb our noses at the Democratic pols who have been calling the shots and reassert the very ideas they say are unthinkable, we will keep stumbling around in the dark corners of American politics, wondering how we lost our souls—and how to find them again.

I can hear tongues clucking the conventional wisdom that the "S" word is the kiss of death for any American political initiative. Since the collapse of Communism, hasn't "socialism"—even the democratic kind—reeked of everything obsolete and discredited? Isn't it sheer absurdity to ask today's mainstream to pay attention to this nineteenth-century idea? Didn't Tony Blair reshape "New Labour" into a force capable of winning an unprecedented string of victories in Britain only by first defeating socialism and socialists in his party? And for a generation haven't we on the American left declared socialist ideology irrelevant time and again in the process of shaping our feminist, antiwar, progay, antiracist, multicultural, ecological and community-oriented identities?

People who espouse these and a dozen other arguments against the relevance of socialism today may regard it as quaint that Bolivia's new president, Evo Morales, leads the Movement Toward Socialism Party, or that Venezuela's Hugo Chávez intends to create a "new socialism of the twenty-first century." After all, socialist parties elsewhere, such as in France, Spain and Germany, or indeed Brazil's Workers Party and Chile's Socialist Party, have no intention of introducing anything like socialism in their countries. Still, the newest significant formation, indeed, today's equivalent of the nineteenth-century International Workingmen's Association, calls itself the World Social Forum. The name reminds those who believe "another world is possible" that it can come about only if it is global, only if it is guided by a loosely organized "forum" rather than a top-down party—and only if its character is social.

Among Americans it has long since become obvious that the left is doomed without a vision, a sense of direction and an effective call to arms. One of the reasons we are having such



IGOR KOPELINSKY

tough sledding nowadays is that we have been unable to develop our own compelling alternative to those created by the right and the center over the past generation and embodied in the politics of George W. Bush and Bill Clinton. We need to point to a clearly different direction from the one in which the United States and the world are heading. We need to spell out a historical diagnosis and project, a strategy and tactics, and root these in widely shared ultimate values.

We would be further along on all of these fronts today had it not been for the immense success of the Anglo-American right in insisting, for nearly a generation now, that in Margaret Thatcher's words, "there is no alternative," that the conservative project of free markets, privatization and deregulation is simple obedience to necessity. When Francis Fukuyama proclaimed the "end of history" fourteen years ago, he ruled out picturing "to ourselves a world that is essentially different from the present one, and at the same time better." Capitalism's victory over Communism in the cold war silenced any and all alternatives, present and future, he said. And today, among apologists for global capitalism like Thomas Friedman, the ideological assault on alternatives has become even more insistent, the faith in the market almost total.

Successful ideological and political campaigns close up the space in which imagination might conceive of a world different from the status quo. Alternatives become "unthinkable." In contrast, for two generations, between 1917 and 1989, the prospect of social change and political action worldwide were nurtured by the competition between two different world-embracing economic systems. Ugly as it was in so many ways, the Soviet Union not only spurred imitators but stimulated and sometimes supported resistance movements and, more relevant to us, along with the presence of vigorous socialist movements and ideas it encouraged thinking and acting toward alternatives that would be neither capitalist nor Communist. The 1930s through the '70s saw important and still relevant efforts at social change led by anarchists (Spain), social democrats (Scandinavia), non-Stalinist Communists (Yugoslavia, Italy), coalitions of socialists and Communists (Chile), and coalitions of leftists and less ideological forces of national liberation (Nicaragua, South Africa). Until the end of the cold war, alternatives to capitalism and Communism seemed both thinkable and possible.

Today, when the bottom line is touted as the answer to every question, Americans are imprisoned in a mental world shaped by economic trends. Ironically, its ideologists have become pitchmen for a capitalist caricature of Marxism—promulgating a crude economic determinism in which the market rules every social, mental and geographic space. Since the fall of

Ronald Aronson teaches at Wayne State University. Among his books are After Marxism (Guilford) and Camus and Sartre: The Story of a Friendship and the Quarrel That Ended It (University of Chicago). He is co-producer (with Judith Montell) of the documentary films Professional Revolutionary: The Life of Saul Wellman and First Amendment on Trial: The Case of the Detroit Six. His current book project is Living Without God.

Communism, market-oriented ways of thinking, feeling and seeing have permeated our lives and our culture to a degree that Marx never dreamed of.

Yet the real Marxism, although no longer embodied in movements or governments, has never been truer or more relevant: Most of the world's main problems today are inseparable from the dynamics of the capitalist system itself. With corporate capitalism everywhere in command, the outlook is for increased poverty, more environmental degradation, ever more uneven distribution of resources and the undermining of traditional societies and ways of life, for a culture dominated by marketing, advertising and uneven global development.

But Americans need only glance around the world to see that there are alternatives. The vibrant World Social Forums are an example, under way since 2001 and now envisioning several annual meetings of an immense variety of groups, organizations and networks. Another is the continuing leftward movement of South American governments, now adding Bolivia to Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile and Brazil. A third is the continuing European efforts to defend social welfare programs, as evidenced in the German Social Democrats' remarkable reversal of a slide into oblivion to tie the Christian Democratic Party in last September's election, and the unflagging popular support for Britain's National Health Service.

The reigning economic system will continue to generate opposition as long as it speaks of equality (which it must) yet continues to be unequal and undemocratic (which it must); as long as it incites dreams of a better life (which it must) but deforms social, cultural and political life according to its bottom line (which it must); as long as its rampant abuse of the environment and pillage of natural resources continue (also inevitable).

Living in a capitalist world, we can't get far thinking and talking about alternatives and new directions without acknowledging that many of our key values and starting points are drawn from a common historical source: the socialist tradition. We have not reached the end of history as long as the spirit of solidarity animates antisweatshop movements, as long as a root sense of fairness motivates our efforts for a living wage, as long as the belief in equality nourishes our demand for a national healthcare system, as long as we embrace the democratic social provisioning embodied in Social Security. The next left will have to acknowledge, and even celebrate, the socialist spirit. Socialism's values continue to nourish community life. Much of our world continues to be organized collectively, democratically and socially, operating according to need and not according to profitability—in schools and cooperatives; libraries and nonprofits; local, state and federal government programs. September 11 and Hurricane Katrina showed the undying need for extensive and intensive structures of community. The socialist standards of fairness, democracy, equality and justice are as much a part of daily life as are capitalism's values of privilege, unequal rewards and power.

In this post-Communist era when even "liberal" has become a dirty word, the effort to create a more humane society will not

be revived without explicit demands long associated with socialism. Social movements for environmental protection, women's rights and racial equality sooner or later run up against the institutional constraints imposed by capitalism. Then they discover that they can't achieve their goals without becoming anticapitalist. What will individuals and groups demanding equality, democracy, respect for the environment and freedom from the market call themselves as they try to coalesce around increasingly global demands and on behalf of increasingly global alternatives? We need not be timid about naming this "socialism." What else is it? What a new progressive movement needs can be simply stated: more socialism.

There can be no future social movements without key socialist themes: the importance of economic class, the centrality of labor and workers in shaping the world, the idea that

people must act to create their own destiny. Not to mention themes already suggested: the decisive role of the economy in determining the rest of our life, the fact

*Many of our key values and starting points
are drawn from a common historical source:
the socialist tradition.*

that today it is above all driven by the pursuit of profit, the insistence on freeing people from its domination and the need to think and act politically in terms of the socioeconomic system rather than in terms of individual policies. Whatever language people use, socialist ideas, experience, models, aspirations and analyses will help form the heart and soul of the alternative-in-the-making, or there will be no alternative.

Equality is the most important among these. Socialists have conceived a society that provides for the needs of every individual, including adequate means to live a decent life and develop each person's capacities. Our society, in contrast, is ambivalent and ultimately incoherent about equality. We are all said to be equal politically and before the law, but socially and economically our individual worth varies enormously. This is built into the American system: Social and economic inequality, a hallmark of life under free enterprise, make a mockery of a proud hallmark of American democracy, civic equality. In its own terms our society should be taking steps at least to insure that we are equal to become unequal. In other words, fair competition requires an equal starting point. Yet today this is not a liberal but a radical demand. Unequal schools, the rising costs of higher education, the growing gap in living conditions between well-off and poor, the abolition of the estate tax encouraging a plutocracy—all heighten the system's unfairness. In fighting against our increasingly unequal society, liberals and progressives will need to draw upon socialist thought in developing clear and consistent ideas, critiques, programs and watchwords about equality.

Doing battle against the prevailing inequality means invoking the idea that we all belong to a community, as opposed to the illusion, voiced famously by Thatcher, that "there is no society, only individuals." The paradox of our time is that individualism is riding high even while our universal interconnectedness is intensifying in this increasingly interdependent global society. The more interdependent each person in the world becomes, and the more large corporations rule not only economic but social life, the less social awareness there seems to be. We are

supposed to live our lives as if there were no community, while more and more, vital social functions become performed for private gain, as if each of us had become a Robinson Crusoe.

The fantasy universe of purely private individuals, for all its lip service to religious belief, is no longer able to inculcate the basic social morality and sense of responsibility any society needs to function. Twenty-five years of attacking government has drained much of the basic civic spirit and social responsibility we must have to transact our collective business with integrity. If nothing is higher than the individual, the only thing

that matters is whether I alone succeed. In the Enron and other corporate fraud scandals, in the debacle of Hurricane Katrina, the chickens have been coming home to roost.

On the road to shaping an alternative, the left might respond with a time-honored socialist insight, namely that "I" only exists within a "we," and that unless we look out for everyone, no one is secure. To say this confidently means accepting that we stand for a clear alternative and embody decisively different values and traditions than those on the right. This means getting friendly again with socialism. ■

EXCHANGE

C O N T I N U E D

(Continued From Page 2)

the country and to help them stay connected in the progressive movement beyond their college years.

LARA PENG, *director*
Young People For

Los Angeles

■ Bravo for the report by Sam Graham-Felsen on the growing cohesiveness of progressive activism on college campuses. There are several other groups doing effective work on campus. United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) has for almost a decade been mobilizing students on a variety of pro-labor fronts (see www.thenation.com/doc/20051128/dreier). Also, the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute has been training campus activists to work with and (after graduation) for the labor movement for a decade. Thirty years ago, Ralph Nader started the Public Interest Research Groups to recruit student progressives and train them in organizing and advocacy. PIRGs and their offshoot groups are still doing good work (although less focused on campuses), and many PIRG alums are now playing key roles in the progressive movement. As I wrote in *The Nation* ("The Myth of Student Apathy," April 13, 1998), since the 1970s right-wing foundations and organizations have been pouring huge resources into promoting campus conservatism. Campus progressives have not had any comparable support from liberal funders; but it's good to know that they recognize the importance of creating a campus movement that can be sustained beyond each four-year cycle of student activists, has a life of its own and is often more radical than mainstream liberalism.

PETER DREIER

Orinda, Calif.

■ Please add Democracy Matters (democracy-matters.org) to your progressive campus-based organizations. I founded DM five years ago to help eliminate the role of private wealth in politics by paying for electoral campaigns with public funds. We now have chapters on more than seventy campuses.

ADONAL FOYLE

Santa Cruz, Calif.

■ Sam Graham-Felsen gets off on the wrong foot by suggesting "help has arrived" in the form of national centrist, Democratic-affiliated student advocacy groups. Yes, the student left

vitality needs financial resources. Yes, the building of national coalitions is an urgent project. But these resources and efforts will have impact only to the degree that they are guided by and support the most effective left student organizers. Students are building multi-ethnic, cross-class political communities with an emphasis on participation and autonomy cognizant of how white supremacy, class privilege, religious fundamentalism and patriarchy continue to strangle democracy. These student coalitions struggle with significant organizational and philosophical questions. And these are precisely the struggles our country needs to grapple with. I hope initiatives such as Campus Progress and Young People For multiply in the years to come, but their draw and their efficacy will lie in bold affirmations of a world without empire, oil dependence and the intensified disparity in living standards of rich and poor.

SEAN BURNS

Goleta, Calif.

■ I was struck by the near absence of any mention of College Democrats. I am president of the Campus Democrats at UC, Santa Barbara. I also participated in the AFL-CIO's 2005 Union Summer and was a delegate to the 2004 Democratic National Convention. We struggle to change the Democratic Party, and we are involved in our communities, reaching out to voters, registering people to vote and running person-to-person grassroots campaigns.

The College Republicans at UCSB don't do a lot except when some big-wig conservative is sent to campus. They are given tons of money (\$14,000 in the fall quarter for a Ben Stein visit). UCSB College Democrats' expenses so far this year have been under \$600, with which we do get-out-the-vote projects and voter registration, sponsor a website and hold weekly meetings with free pizza. Because of UCSB Democrats, during the 2004 election cycle more than 12,000 students registered to vote, and nearly 80 percent of registered students voted.

I'm used to the College Democrats getting little or no credit from the left for activism because we are considered part of "the machine." Regardless, Young Democrats (www.yda.org) will work and be active just as we have for the past seventy-four years with or without the acknowledgment of the intellectuals of the left.

Once Karl Rove was chairman of the College Republicans. He is a prime example of what care and attention can create. The other side is taking very good care of its youth—ours should too.

BEN SHELDON-TARZYNSKI

GRAHAM-FELSEN REPLIES

New York City

■ I wish I could have included dozens more student groups in my piece, but I specifically focused on Campus Progress, Young People For and the Roosevelt Institution because these groups reflect a new development for the campus left. These groups are "big tent" multi-issue organizations attempting to promote progressivism broadly rather than harp on single issues. The right has done this on campus for thirty years, but the left has just begun. I recognize that groups like USAS and Democracy Matters have been quite successful, but as they are single-issue groups I did not focus on them.

Many have taken my pragmatist/visionary dichotomy too literally. It is entirely possible to be visionary and pragmatic simultaneously. I maintained that too much emphasis on strategy, messaging and tactics is problematic, but I also made clear that a campus left without a healthy dose of pragmatism is going nowhere. In addition, I certainly do not consider the three groups I profiled to be spineless, future DLC-types without a shred of vision. But I am concerned that these groups—like the Democrats in Congress—have avoided serious discussion of alternatives in Iraq and have not worked to organize students pushing for withdrawal of our troops.

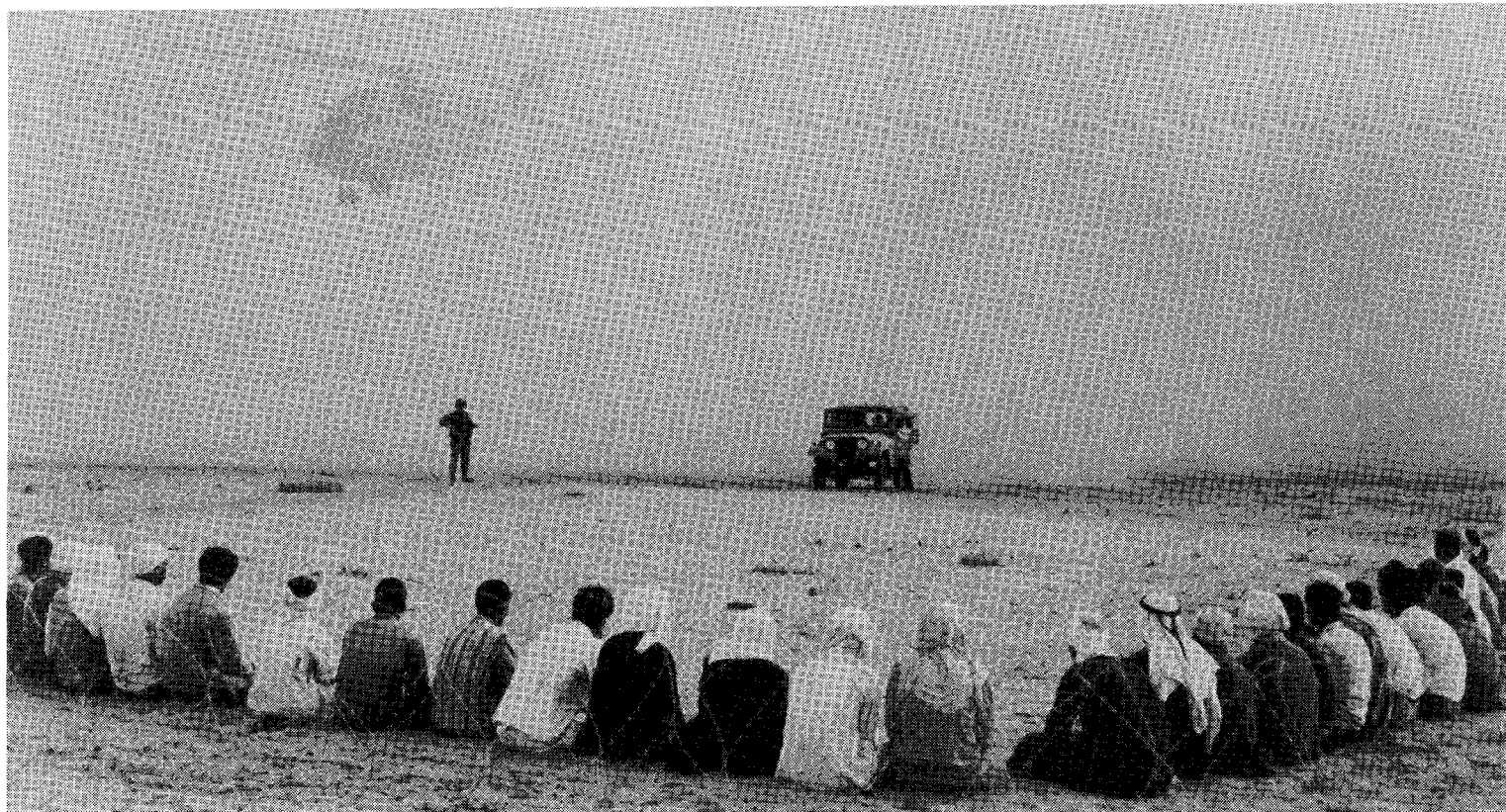
SAM GRAHAM-FELSEN

CORRECTION & CLARIFICATION

■ Due to a fact-checking error in Rebecca Solnit's "Three Who Made a Revolution" (April 3), it was stated that Betty Friedan had a five-year residency at the New York Public Library's Allen Room. Friedan did write *The Feminine Mystique* over a five-year period, but she was an Allen Room resident for only two of those years.

In "The Cartoon Bomb" (Feb. 27) we noted Neal Ascherson's criticism of the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* for printing cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. Ascherson's piece appeared on opendemocracy.net.

BOOKS & THE ARTS



MICHA BAR AM/MAGNUM PHOTOS

When Doves Cry

JOEL BEININ

SCARS OF WAR, WOUNDS OF PEACE:
The Israeli-Arab Tragedy.

By Shlomo Ben-Ami.
Oxford. 354 pp. \$30.

THE ACCIDENTAL EMPIRE: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967–1977.

By Gershom Gorenberg.
Holt. 454 pp. \$30.

In July 1999 a new Israeli government, led by Prime Minister Ehud Barak of the Labor Party, came to power. Barak had opposed the 1993 Oslo Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO and had voted against its sequel, the 1995 Oslo II accords, in the Cabinet. Nonetheless, his election raised hopes that after three years of stalemate induced by the administration of Likud Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, there would be

renewed momentum toward a Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement and resolution of the “final status” issues left open by the Oslo accords—settlements, the status of East Jerusalem, refugees, borders and the nature of the Palestinian entity.

Those hopes were dashed by the failure of the July 2000 summit at Camp David convened by President Clinton at Barak’s request and against the wishes of Palestinian Authority President Yasir Arafat, who thought the parties were not close enough to conclude an agreement. Israel’s proposals at Camp David, while more generous than any previous public position, fell far short of what any Palestinian leader could accept. Barak proposed a barely contiguous Palestinian state on 90 percent of the West Bank (with an additional 10 percent, the Jordan Valley, leased back to Israel for decades) entirely surrounded by Israeli-controlled territory. The Palestinians would have sovereignty over a few suburbs of East Jerusalem, but only a quasi-autonomous civil administration for Arab neighborhoods of the city proper. Barak’s refusal to withdraw to the 1967 borders reflected not only his commitment to a limited form of

Joel Beinin, a professor of history at Stanford University, is the author of Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–1965 (California) and, most recently, co-editor, with Rebecca Stein, of The Struggle for Sovereignty: Palestine and Israel, 1993–2005 (Stanford).

Palestinian sovereignty but his constricted negotiating room. Having lost his parliamentary majority just before the summit, he was terrified of appearing too dovish.

Following Ariel Sharon's provocative visit, flanked by 1,000 Israeli soldiers and police officers, to the Temple Mount/Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem on September 28, 2000, the second (or al-Aqsa) intifada erupted. Israeli forces immediately deployed extreme violence, firing more than 1 million live bullets in the first three weeks of the uprising, largely against stone-throwing youth and before any act of Palestinian terrorism occurred. Nonetheless, negotiations continued throughout the fall in the hope that a deal could be struck before Clinton and Barak left office.

On December 23, 2000, Clinton proposed "parameters" bridging the differences between the parties at Camp David and the subsequent talks. They were presented as a "take it or leave it" American plan for two states: Israel alongside a Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip and 94-96 percent of the West Bank. All the exclusively Jewish neighborhoods established in East Jerusalem since 1967 would remain in Israeli hands, as would settlement blocs in the West Bank containing 80 percent of the settlers. Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem would become part of the Palestinian state. Refugees would be able to return to the Palestinian state, but not to Israel.

Both Barak and Arafat accepted the Clinton parameters, although both had reservations. The Israeli public relations machine successfully marketed Israel's position as an unqualified "yes" and portrayed the Palestinian position as an unequivocal "no." Barak needed to do this regardless of his personal opinion of the parameters because adopting a position opposed to that of the United States is the kiss of death in domestic Israeli politics. In contrast, Arafat feared appearing to concede too much to Israel's patron; and the diplomatic effort of the Palestinians to explain their position was clumsy. Negotiations on the Clinton parameters continued until the Oslo process was definitively buried when Barak called off last-ditch Palestinian-Israeli talks at Taba, Egypt, in mid-January 2001. Anticipating Sharon's victory in the prime ministerial election several weeks hence, Barak said he did not want to conclude an agreement that would bind Israel's next government. A few weeks later, Sharon defeated Barak in the most overwhelming electoral debacle in Israeli history. There have been no substantive Palestinian-Israeli negotiations since then.

Shlomo Ben-Ami, the author of *Scars*

of *War, Wounds of Peace*, a history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, was minister of public security in Barak's government. Born in Tangier, Morocco, in 1943, he immigrated to Israel in 1955 and eventually received a PhD in history from Oxford with a specialty in modern Spain. After a successful academic career he entered politics, serving as Israel's ambassador to Spain from 1987 to 1991 and as a Knesset member from 1996 to 2002. Barak was so impressed by Ben-Ami's performance as a negotiator at Camp David that he awarded him the additional portfolio of foreign minister, which had been vacated by David Levy, one of several defections that led to the demise of Barak's government.

In his official capacities Ben-Ami presided over both the suppression of the second intifada and the continuation of talks with the Palestinians until Sharon became prime minister. He also orchestrated Israel's campaign to blame the failure at Camp David on Arafat's rejection of Barak's "generous offer" and to portray Arafat as personally responsible for the intifada and thus not "a partner for peace." Ben-Ami's political star began to wane because, as minister of public security, he bore heavy responsibility for the deaths of thirteen Palestinian citizens of Israel who were shot dead in October 2000 in the course of demonstrations supporting the second intifada.

Since 2001 Ben-Ami has written books in Hebrew, French and English about the Arab-Israeli conflict. His most recent effort, published four years after his resignation from the Knesset, is a fascinating—and deeply schizophrenic—book, alternating between a soul-searching history of the roots of the conflict, and political score-settling and self-aggrandizement when Ben-Ami turns to the record of the government he served. Ben-Ami's account of the Arab-Israeli conflict from the 1930s until he joined the Israeli government in 1999 largely accepts, and on some matters is even more radical than, the arguments of Avi Shlaim in *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (1999). Shlaim is one of the leading Israeli "new historians," who have shown that Israel bears far more responsibility than is commonly thought for the Palestinian ordeal of dispossession and occupation and for the absence of peace in the region. Ben-Ami's adoption of their perspective is a measure of the triumph of the new history, although arguments about details, rectifications of errors and debates over interpretation will continue.

Zionism, Ben-Ami writes, was both a

"movement of national liberation" and "a movement of conquest, colonisation and settlement." This formulation is uncontroversial in many circles and is well supported by numerous serious scholarly publications. Coming from a recent member of Israel's political elite, it is an astonishing statement. Recounting the first Arab-Israeli war, Ben-Ami employs post-Zionist vocabulary, calling it the "1948 War" rather than the "War of Independence." He notes that for Palestinians this was the *Nakba* (disaster)—again, a daring affirmation for an Israeli with unimpeachable establishment credentials. Moreover, he goes beyond the conclusions of Benny Morris, the foremost new historian of the Palestinian refugee problem. Morris, while documenting instances of expulsion, massacre and intimidation of Palestinians by Israeli armed forces, nonetheless concludes that there was no Israeli plan to expel the Palestinian Arabs—that their flight was born of war, not design. This thesis, according to Ben-Ami, is "not always sustained by the very evidence [Morris] provides." Ben-Ami attributes much more responsibility to Israeli military actions than Morris. He is unconcerned that no comprehensive order to expel the Palestinian Arabs has been found in any open archival collections, because "Ben-Gurion did not have to issue particular orders for expulsion." There was "an ideological predisposition, a mental attitude, a supporting cultural environment within which military commanders initiated or encouraged the eviction of the Arab population."

Despite these and many other valuable conclusions and insights into Israel's hyper-militarized political culture, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace* is, in its final chapters, the work of a politician defending the government he served rather than of a historian. In his account of the record of the Barak government Professor Ben-Ami's critical historical analysis gives way to a political brief presented by Israel's foreign minister, with corresponding shifts in tone and perspective. In these chapters Ben-Ami seems to be mainly interested in justifying his participation in the Barak government and the Camp David summit. He reveals a limited understanding of and no empathy with Arab political culture, oscillating between paternalism and contempt for the Palestinian leadership. And he settles scores with Israeli rivals, such as Yossi Beilin and Shimon Peres, whom he obviously detests and considers unworthy of a Nobel Peace Prize.

The positions Ben-Ami espoused as foreign minister are somewhat revised in

REVIEW

A MERICAN CONTROL of the Middle East is slipping. In Iraq, the resistance has inflicted a steady train of blows on the US occupation, preventing any stabilization of the collaborator regime and sapping support for the war in America itself. In Iran and Palestine, elections have humiliated those on whom it had counted as pliable instruments or interlocutors, propelling more radical forces into power . . .

It is in the slums that Hamas, Hizbollah, the Sadr brigades and the Basij have their roots. The contrast with the Hariris, Chalabis, Karzais, Allawis, on whom the West relies—overseas millionaires, crooked bankers, CIA bagmen—could not be starker. A radical wind is blowing from the alleys and shacks of the latter-day wretched of the earth, surrounded by the fabulous wealth of petroleum. The limits of this radicalism, so long as it remains captured by the Koran, are clear enough. Leaders comparable to figures like Chávez or Morales have yet to emerge, with a vision capable of transcending national or communal divisions and a sense of continental unity. The Middle East awaits an equivalent spirit.'

Tariq Ali, 'Mid-Point in the Middle East?', NLR 38

Plus Yoav Peled and Virginia Tilley: debating the One-State Solution for Israel–Palestine



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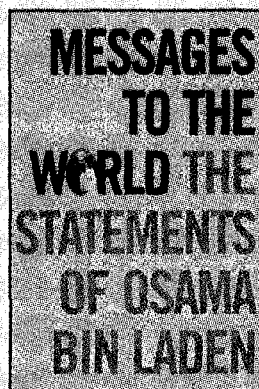


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his new book. The attack on the Palestinians is softened by criticism of Israeli and American policies and negotiating tactics. But he ultimately holds the Palestinians responsible for the failure of the Camp David summit. He stands by his argument that the al-Aqsa intifada was not precipitated by Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount. As he told the *NewsHour With Jim Lehrer* on November 1, 2000, "Arafat orchestrated these waves of violence, rather surfed on it, because he wanted to avoid the American peace package and be exposed by the President once again as a peace rejectionist." And he maintains that Arafat was psychologically incapable of signing a peace agreement with Israel.

In contrast, the report of former Senator George Mitchell, who was dispatched to the Middle East by President Clinton to investigate the causes of the second intifada, concluded that the Palestinian Authority did not deliberately plan to initiate violence after the failure of the Camp David summit. Mitchell also determined that while Sharon's visit did not cause the second intifada, "it was poorly timed and the provocative effect should have been foreseen; indeed it was foreseen by those who urged that the visit be prohibited. More significant were the events that followed: the decision of the Israeli police on September 29 to use lethal means against the Palestinian demonstrators." (Mitchell's conclusions were seconded by several high-ranking Israeli intelligence chiefs, some of whom had warned that a second intifada was imminent because of mounting Palestinian frustrations with the Oslo process.)

Ben-Ami maintains that Israel accepted the Clinton parameters whereas Arafat rejected them. But in September 2001 Ben-Ami told the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*, "We sent the Americans a document of several pages containing our reservations." Nonetheless, he regards Israel's reservations as a "yes" while insisting that Arafat "never formally said no, but his yes was a no." This is clearly not the case, because negotiations over the Clinton parameters continued at Taba in January 2001, although disagreement on the interpretation of some key issues persisted, as might be expected in negotiations of this sort. According to EU Special Representative Miguel Moratinos, who prepared a "non-paper" on the talks that was accepted by both parties as a fair account of the state of the negotiations, both sides accepted the Clinton parameters, and Arafat did not reject the two-state solution.

It is hard to believe that the former foreign minister believes his own arguments in

the final chapters of *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace*, given what the historian says in the preceding chapters, which offer elements of a cogent explanation for the breakdown of the peace process well before the 2000 Camp David summit. The Oslo accords, Ben-Ami declares frankly, could not meet the minimum Palestinian expectations because they reflected the balance of power. He admits that the Oslo process was all but dead when the Barak government came into office. Moreover, the collapse of the peace process was "not exactly an unexpected accident; rather it was a failure written into the genetic code of Oslo."

Ben-Ami's attacks on Arafat in his official capacity are also flatly contradicted by the portrait he draws in his book. Here, Arafat is soberly depicted as "a difficult partner" who was "at the same time...the ultimate defender of the two-state solution." Ben-Ami also understands that "no Israeli leader, including Rabin, really imagined how painful and how far-reaching the concessions would have had to be in order to come close to meeting the expectations of Israel's Palestinian interlocutors." Exactly correct. And the fact that Ben-Ami speaks in terms of Israeli "concessions" rather than acknowledgment of Palestinian "rights" expresses the gap between the two parties and is the underlying reason for the failure of the Oslo process.

One complication reducing the Israeli government's willingness to turn over the entire West Bank to the Palestinians in any peace settlement is that since 1967 some 145 "officially recognized" settlements and more than 100 "outposts" have been established in the area, including more than a dozen exclusively Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. The total population of these settlements today is about 440,000. Every US administration until the current one has considered the settlements "an obstacle to peace," although this policy has rarely had any teeth in it, especially after President Reagan declared the settlements "not illegal."

The birth of Israel's settlement project from 1967 to 1977 is the subject of Gershon Gorenberg's *The Accidental Empire*, an absorbing narrative with extensive references to archives, private papers, oral histories, books and articles. The outlines of Gorenberg's story have been known since the 1983 publication of *Occupation: Israel Over Palestine*, a collection of essays edited by Naseer Aruri. But there is no comparably detailed history.

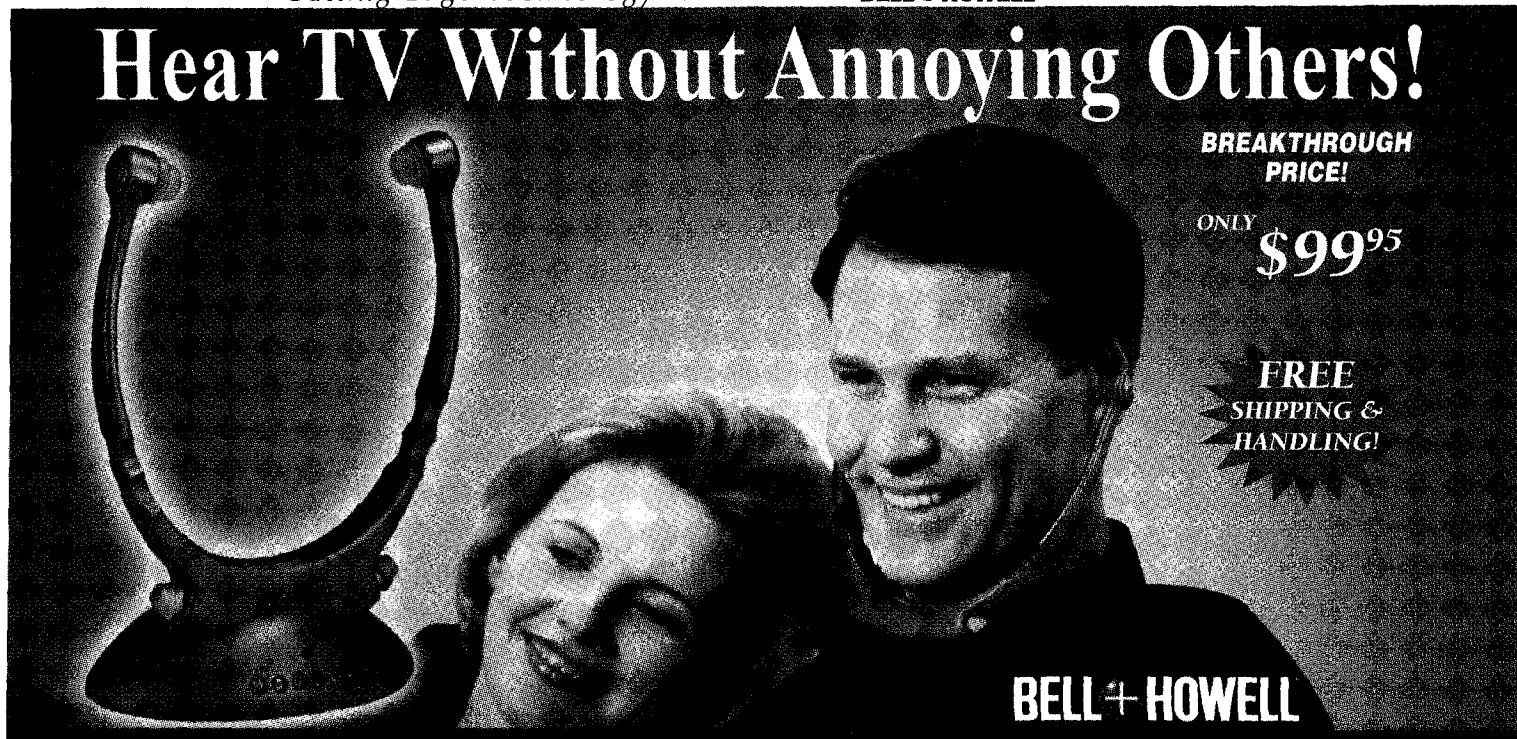
Gorenberg is an American-born Israeli journalist who writes regularly on the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict for *The American Prospect*. Like Ben-Ami, he is a liberal Zionist who accepts (albeit less robustly) many elements of the new historians' critique of Israeli policies. He acknowledges that the Israeli army deliberately provoked Syria for years before the 1967 war. And he agrees with Ben-Ami and Yoram Meital, the leading Israeli scholar on the subject, that despite the famous three "no's" of the September 1, 1967, Khartoum Arab summit—no recognition, no direct negotiations and no peace treaty with Israel—the statement issued by the Arab states implicitly signaled that they accepted Israel's pre-1967 borders and were prepared for indirect negotiations over the territories occupied in the war. "Decoded as its authors intended," writes Gorenberg, the Khartoum declaration "meant that these Arab countries were aiming only at getting back the land lost in the last war, not at erasing Israel from the map, and that they would use diplomatic means, not tanks and troops, to accomplish their goal."

In *Trapped Fools: Thirty Years of Israeli Policy in the Territories* (2003) Gen. Shlomo Gazit, Israel's first coordinator of government operations in the administered territories (1967–74) and head of military intelligence (1974–79), notes that the leading American dailies recognized the diplomatic overture concealed by Khartoum's face-saving bellicose rhetoric, while their Israeli counterparts did not. Gazit wonders if anyone in the Israeli intelligence community informed the government of the American assessment of Khartoum so as to be sure that an opportunity for a dialogue was not missed. In any case, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and his Cabinet failed to read between the lines of Khartoum, preferring to decry the summit as yet another example of Arab rejectionism. Ignoring the nuances of Khartoum allowed Eshkol to postpone relinquishing the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, where Israelis had begun settling in July 1967.

"For Eshkol, Khartoum was the tipping point," Gorenberg argues, unconvincingly. "Whatever the intent of the Khartoum decisions," he writes, "their bellicose language convinced Israel's government that peace was out of reach" and "encouraged the growth of the settlements." This thesis, however, is undermined by Gorenberg's own reading of Khartoum, as well as by his account of the eagerness with which Eshkol and other Israeli officials sought to establish "facts on the ground" before the Khartoum summit even took place. The evidence is corroborated and elaborated on by Ben-Ami and by Tom Segev's 1967: *And*

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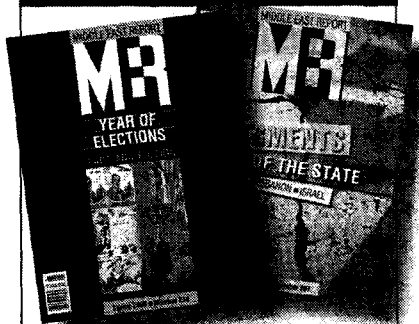
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Project (MERIP), Washington, DC.

the *Land Changed Its Face* (so far available only in Hebrew; an English translation will be published by Metropolitan next year). The “accidental empire” did not develop in a fit of absence of mind.

Indeed, Gorenberg shows that the Eshkol government, intoxicated by the victory in the June war, wasted little time in creating new facts. Immediately after the war, Eshkol decided to annex East Jerusalem. A few days later, the Moroccan neighborhood of the Old City of Jerusalem was razed to make room for Jewish worshippers at the Western Wall; on June 27 the city was “unified” under Israeli sovereignty. On July 16, the first settler in the occupied territories installed himself on the Golan Heights; a month later, the Israeli Cabinet adopted a secret decision to permit “work camps” on the Golan Heights with the unstated possibility that they would become settlements. Even before the 1967 war was over, Minister of Labor Yigal Allon conceived his now famous plan to annex the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea shore, the Hebron hills and Jerusalem and to create a small Palestinian enclave on the mountain ridge north of Jerusalem. All these developments occurred before the Khartoum summit statement of September 1. While the strident rhetoric at Khartoum allowed Israel to justify expansion as a “defensive” measure and hardened Israeli popular opinion against giving up the occupied territories, it cannot have provided the impetus for the annexations and settlements that were already under way.

Gorenberg’s description of Israel’s approach to settlement as “a vacuum of strategy” is not persuasive. He tells us that civilian settlements were disguised as “temporary” military outposts or as work camps to avoid the appearance of violating the Fourth Geneva Convention, a danger to which Eshkol was alerted by the legal counsel to the Foreign Ministry. Yet the new settlers were civilians, not soldiers. Many of them were driven by religious messianism, sometimes seizing land in “wildcat” actions that usually received retroactive government backing; the laborers they employed were primarily Palestinians living under military rule; and despite the official claim that these “outposts” were defensive in nature, they exacerbated the conflict with Palestinians on whose land they were built, thus requiring the presence of Israeli soldiers. There were tensions between settlers and the army that protected them, but Gorenberg does not mistake appearance for reality: “The army and the settlers were like a couple that fights in public and goes home together.” Thus, as the rest of the world decolonized, Israel, Gorenberg writes, “was backing into

colonialism in the occupied territories.”

Like all forms of colonialism, the Israeli occupation fostered abundant self-delusion on the part of its masters. Moshe Dayan, who as defense minister presided over the “administered” territories, as Israel insisted on calling them, was convinced that Palestinians would eventually embrace him “as long as life improved economically for his subjects, as long he was a stern but kind ruler.” In a conversation with Palestinian poet Fadwa Tuqan cited by Gorenberg, Dayan likened the occupation to “the complex relationship between a Bedouin man and the girl he kidnaps against her will.... You Palestinians, as a nation, don’t want us today, but we’ll change your attitude by forcing our presence on you.” In one of the book’s most surreal scenes, Dayan plunders antiquities in a West Bank village under the watchful eyes of his mistress, a young Shin Bet agent and a crowd of Arab onlookers.

Perhaps the most important contribution Gorenberg makes in *The Accidental Empire* is to shatter the conventional wisdom that the election of the Likud government led by Menachem Begin in 1977 marked “a revolution in settlement.” Rather, the Likud regime escalated trends established during the previous ten years of Labor Party rule. Gorenberg also debunks what he frankly calls “the myth of a reluctant Eshkol pushed by Orthodox settlers.” This myth, he adds, would “later serve the purposes both of the Israeli left”—hoping to wash its hands of responsibility for the construction of settlements—“and of the young Orthodox rebels” who were proud to claim credit for the Jewish state’s expansion into the biblical “land of Israel.” In fact, Eshkol’s “solution was to fall back on the method that Labor Zionism and his own past provided: to redraw the map one settlement at a time.” By December 1967, the West Bank had become Judea and Samaria in official documents. The following year, Eshkol advised one of his intelligence operatives to encourage Palestinians in the Gaza Strip to “emigrate, beyond what is now going on without our intervention.”

The settlement enterprise reflected to a considerable degree the ethos of Labor Zionism, as Gorenberg recognizes by terming the settlements “the colonial project of a sovereign state” and “a return to the struggle before statehood.” Pre-state Zionism was, as Ben-Ami puts it, “a movement of conquest, colonisation and settlement” led by Labor Zionists. What made the situation after 1967 unusual was the alliance of Labor Zionist territorial maximalists—Moshe Dayan, Shimon Peres, Yigal

Allon and Yisrael Galili—with messianic religious Zionists inspired by the theology of Rabbi Tzvi Yehudah Kook. As Gorenberg demonstrates, the vast majority of Israel's Labor leaders had a soft spot for the settlers, in whom they saw the "pioneer" spirit rekindled, and whose wishes they indulged. For Kook's fundamentalist disciples, Israel's victory was "mind-boggling proof" of their doctrine, inspiring them to settle more land and to prove themselves equal, if not superior, to the secular Zionist kibbutzniks, whom they viewed as, at best, "good sinners." One of the ironies of this peculiar alliance, which Gorenberg recounts in vivid detail, is that the religious settlers' Labor patrons were "helping to build a community" that sought to throw them "on the ash heap of history."

In January 1967 President Lyndon Johnson asked Eshkol what kind of Israel he wanted. The Israeli prime minister reportedly replied, "My government has decided not to decide." Despite his own considerable evidence that Israel's indecision was intended to permit territorial expansion on the sly and without making potentially problematic public commitments, Gorenberg takes Eshkol at his word.

Consequently, the chief flaw of *The Accidental Empire* is its thesis, suggested by the title: that the territorial conquests of 1967 and the settlement project they enabled were unplanned—"born of a national evasion of choices," as Gorenberg puts it. This argument is premised on the assumption that most Israelis (with the notable exceptions of Begin's Herut, or Freedom, Party, and the Labor Zionist Ahdut Ha'avodah, or Unity of Labor Party) accepted the 1949 armistice line (the Green Line) as Israel's final borders and looked forward to a life of normalcy. The settlement project, he suggests, emerged gradually, as Israel's leaders, helped along by belligerent Arab rhetoric, put off any decision regarding the final status of the territories, often for domestic political reasons rather than because of some overarching plan. Gorenberg repeatedly undermines his thesis, as when he observes that Dayan's plan for permanently integrating Israel and the West Bank "remained as a blueprint of what would happen, bit by bit, in the absence of annexation or withdrawal." In another revealing passage, he writes that "the purpose of settlement, since the day in July 1967 when the first Israeli settler climbed out of a jeep in the Syrian heights, had been to create facts that would determine the final status of the land, to sculpt the political reality before negotiations ever got underway."

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If it was not the "rejectionism" of the Arab states at Khartoum that drove the occupation and the settlement project, what did? A good part of the answer lies in the nature of the state of Israel before 1967. Many Israelis across the political spectrum shared the conviction that all of historical Palestine belonged to the Jewish people and that the 1949 borders were a temporary compromise. For such people, the "accident" by which Israel acquired its empire was an unexpected opportunity, even a sign of divine intervention.

As Ben-Ami points out, Ben-Gurion made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the 1949 borders. He envisioned partitioning the entire Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan between Israel and Iraq. On several occasions Ben-Gurion and Dayan discussed "completing the job" left unfinished in 1948-49. They were especially interested in annexing southern Lebanon up to the Litani River and making peace with a rump state dominated by Maronite Christians. Ben-Ami sharply criticizes Ben-Gurion for helping to "create the psychological conditions for the Six Day War" (although Ben-Gurion was one of the few Israeli statesmen who called for withdrawal after the war).

Ben-Ami refers to recently published documents proving that in the years before 1967, "Yitzhak Rabin intentionally led Israel into a war with Syria." Dayan told *Yedioth Aharonoth* reporter Rami Tal in a posthumously published interview that Israel initiated at least 80 percent of the clashes with Syria in the "water war" of the 1960s. Moreover, after the Syrian air force had been disabled early in the 1967 war, settlers in the Hula Valley lobbied the Israeli government to initiate a land assault on Syria. These Labor Zionist "pioneers," according to Ben-Ami's interpretation of this encounter, "simply wanted to acquire more land in the Golan."

In 1967, Tom Segev provides nine pages of evidence for a strong streak of irredentism in Israeli political life. Additional lands were sought not only by the followers of Begin but also by Ben-Gurion's protégés (Dayan and Peres), army officers (Rabin) and political figures (Yisrael Galili and Yigal Allon) affiliated with Ahdut Ha'avodah, a current in the Labor Zionist movement that split from and then rejoined the Labor Party. Unlike Gorenberg, Segev does not regard the leaders of Ahdut Ha'avodah as marginal figures, a reasonable judgment since Galili and Allon were ministers in the government that launched the 1967 war. Segev also

challenges Gorenberg's understanding of pre-1967 Israeli political culture, noting, "Many Israelis were old enough to remember the days before the Green Line; it was difficult for them to internalize it as a permanent arrangement."

Allon, commander of the Palmach and of the southern front in the 1948 war, never forgave the Israeli government for preventing the army from conquering all of the West Bank in 1948. Ben-Gurion favored such a military initiative, but he could not

For many Israelis, the conquest of the territories in 1967 was an unexpected opportunity, even a sign of divine intervention.

convince the rest of the government and considered this "a cause for mourning for generations to come." This story was published with great fanfare in the Israeli press in 1966. On the eve of the 1967 war former chief of staff Yigael Yadin gave a rare interview in which he too expressed regret that the Old City of Jerusalem and other territories were not conquered in 1948, when Israel had the chance.

Shortly after the "dovish" Eshkol became prime minister in 1963, army deputy chief of staff Rabin described to him Israel's desired borders: the Jordan River in the east, the Suez Canal in the west and the Litani River in the north. If we replace southern Lebanon with the Golan Heights, these are the territories Rabin conquered as chief of staff in the 1967 war. Segev's account of the army higher command's view of Syria is consistent with Ben-Ami's recollection from the time of his own military service that all the soldiers on the northern front "knew" the Golan Heights "would have to be taken over." Ben-Ami concludes that Israel was "dragged by the hyperactivism of her army" into the 1967 war.

Does this mean that Gorenberg is entirely wrong and that Israel had a strategy to attack its Arab neighbors, occupy and annex their lands, and establish settlements before the 1967 war? There is no evidence that there was anything more than contingency plans for such an adventure. But Ben-Ami and Segev describe a political and psychological ambience in which it was acceptable to speak quietly about such things and widely believed that they were desirable. However, Labor and liberal Zionists thought it preferable to refrain from the demagogic statements for which Begin was notorious in order not to upset the West, especially the United States. Hence, when the opportunity arose, there

was no need for the government to issue direct orders any more than there was in 1948, when Palestinians were driven from their lands. Army commanders knew they would be given retroactive permission to conquer as much land as they could. And civilians knew how to take the initiative in establishing settlements and locating allies within the government, even as there were sometimes clashes with other elements of the government over settling in a particular location or with excessive fanfare.

Like many who cherish the illusion of a "beautiful Israel" in the period between 1949 and 1967, Gorenberg seems to think it was possible to shut down the settler-colonial element of Zionism once a Jewish state was established. Many Zionist leaders saw Israel as a democratic, socially progressive, culturally innovative state seeking to grant equal rights to all its citizens. This was the dominant image of Israel in the West until the 1980s. Many Americans still embrace it.

However, many elements of the exclusivist Jewish settler-colonial project remained in place and were legally institutionalized after 1948. Most Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel lived under military law until 1966. They were not permitted to join the Histadrut trade union federation until 1965. About half of their agricultural lands were confiscated to make room for new settlements or expanding existing ones. Jewish immigrants were legally privileged over Arab citizens. The Palestinian refugees, in violation of UN resolutions and international law, were prevented from returning to homes and lands where they had been settled for hundreds of years. Hence, as a recent Stanford University doctoral dissertation by Shira Robinson argues, from 1949 to 1967 Israel was caught in the contradiction between the ideals of a liberal state and the realities of a settler-colonial enterprise.

Ben-Ami endorses a version of this important insight. Before leaving to head the Israeli delegation to the Taba talks, he said that Israel must choose "between being a state or a Yishuv [Jewish community]." He decries the culture of "illegalism" or "creating facts" in the face of legal constraints, which characterized Israel's settlement activity in both the pre-1948 and post-1967 period. While he believes this was necessary before 1948, he bemoans the fact that it had not been suppressed as late as 2000.

In fact, this remains the consensual Israeli approach to this day. Ariel Sharon's unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, which was expressly intended to consolidate Israeli control over much of the West Bank

and East Jerusalem, reflects this well. Rather than negotiate with the Palestinians as stipulated by the now defunct "road map" or through any other framework, Sharon simply relied on Israel's overwhelming military power to impose what he considered a proper solution for the Gaza Strip—a solution that has turned the territory into a large, lawless prison camp with no prospects for economic development or political independence. Before Sharon's stroke, the Israeli press reported that he intended to carry out similar measures in the West Bank after the March 28 parliamentary elections. (The former prime minister's successor, Ehud Olmert, adopted this strategy as his platform in the elections.) He would have dismantled a few dozen smaller settlements and annexed about 30 percent of the West Bank, including greater East Jerusalem and all the land to the west of the separation barrier Israel has been building since the summer of 2002. The Palestinians would have been permitted to proclaim a "state" in the remainder of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It is an arrangement, as Sharon knew very well, that no Palestinian leader could accept.

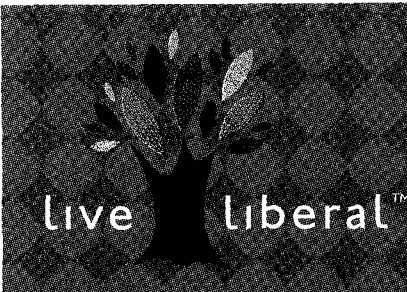
The persistence of the "illegalist" settler-colonial element in Israeli political culture—historically central to the ethos in Labor Zionism and adopted by messianic religious Zionism after 1967—has led some to conclude that a two-state solution will not provide a satisfactory resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. They contend that the thick network of infrastructure and settlements (some of them small cities) established by Israel in the West Bank during nearly four decades of occupation creates a "matrix of control," in the words of Israeli activist and anthropologist Jeff Halper, thereby making a contiguous and viable Palestinian state impossible. Even if a Palestinian state were established, Israel would dominate it economically and militarily, and the great majority of Israelis would continue to have the kind of patronizing attitude toward the Palestinians that Ben-Ami expresses. Nor would the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip insure equal rights for the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel, now about 19 percent of the population, as long as Israel defines itself as the state of the Jewish people.

The critique of the two-state solution, which has been elegantly articulated by Tony Judt and Gary Sussman, as well as by the late Edward Said, founders on two realities. The first is that neither the one-state nor the two-state solution is on the horizon. The heated polemics on this question more than occasionally evoke the least attractive quali-

ties of an academic seminar. The Israeli government's effort to impose a solution unilaterally has met with approval, as ever, in Washington, and the Palestinian national movement is, for its part, in disarray, with the near disintegration of the Palestinian Authority, the collapse of Fatah's hegemony and the recent electoral victory of Hamas, whose ideal is a very different kind of one-state solution than that of the secular left. The second obstacle to the one-state solution is the clear preference of both peoples to live in separate states: In all polls taken on this issue a firm majority of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip support two states, as do the majority of Palestinian Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel.

The settlements and the Israeli separation wall are enormous obstacles to a viable two-state solution. But they were put in place by acts of political will. In principle, they can be removed by political decisions. What is uncertain is whether any coalition of forces can be assembled in Israel that can muster the wisdom and courage to undertake this. It would be greatly facilitated if the international community and the media ceased to propagate obfuscations about the nonexistent "peace process." This has become a propaganda term that conceals Israel's continued settlement expansion, the construction of the separation barrier declared illegal by the International Court of Justice and the fact that the Gaza Strip remains under occupation practically and according to international law. These harsh realities and their appalling consequences for the Palestinian people must be confronted. The Bush Administration, which has endorsed very nearly any Israeli outrage against the Palestinians in the name of the "war on terror," is hopeless on this, as on many other Middle East policy questions. The Democratic Party has a poor record on Israeli-Palestinian issues and cannot be considered a serious alternative.

Where, then, is the hope for a peaceful solution to the conflict? I believe that it lies in the young Palestinians, Jewish Israelis and internationals who have been fighting shoulder to shoulder in weekly battles against the Israeli security forces since late 2003 to halt the construction of the separation wall. This struggle has been led by Palestinian villagers in unheralded places like Budrus and Bil'in, organized in the Popular Committee Against the Wall. Although their successes have so far been minor, these actions have demonstrated that trust is built through joint political action and that whether there will eventually be two states or one, coexistence, not separation, is the foundation for peace. ■



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In the spring of 1986 the English language, and nearly every other, acquired a new word for catastrophe: Chernobyl. On April 25, 1986, when Reactor No. 4 at the nuclear power station near a leafy village some eighty miles north of the Ukrainian capital of Kiev began to melt down, the world

had no notion of the disaster about to unfold. Neither did Moscow. In a classic confusion of priorities that would open the floodgates for *glasnost* and, in due time, a rethinking of the Soviet nuclear landscape, the Politburo was concerned above all with bad press. A year earlier a new general secretary had arisen, Mikhail Gorbachev. Yet even as word spread that the accident at the station had already reached an unprecedented scale, with the specter of a radioactive Armageddon rising over Europe, Gorbachev and company seemed less concerned about the damage issuing from Chernobyl than the damage to Moscow's reputation.

Having entered the English vernacular, "Chernobyl" has gained currency in the twenty years since the accident. "To go Chernobyl"—whether it be a relationship, teakettle or political career—is to melt down. Yet as scientists will tell you, what is commonly called the "accident" at Chernobyl was anything but. For this disaster was born of human decisions. The engineers at the plant had long been eager to test a theory. Those on the night shift decided to conduct an unauthorized test. Not specialists in nuclear science, they powered the reactor down, disabled emergency backup systems in order to see how long the turbines could operate and, hoping to learn how the reactor's coolant system would function on low electricity, instead learned how its core would melt. The explosion tore off the reactor's 1,000-ton steel-and-concrete roof, spewing the now famous radioactive maelstrom into the heavens. In all, Chernobyl released 100 times more radiation than the nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The true death toll will never be known. The government of Ukraine has

tallied more than 8,000 dead, nearly all victims of the fire and cleanup. The toll, in environmental and chromosomal damage, continues today and will for generations.

The Kremlin's first reflex was to try to conceal the mess—even from rescue workers. Firefighters and thousands of other local workers were dispatched to the burning station with no warning. The scientists who flew in from Moscow came with only their razors. (They imagined they would stay just a couple of days.) No special clothing was distributed. No one was immediately evacuated from the nearby settlements, the so-called nuclear villages where the station's workers and their families lived. Thirty-one workers died immediately from exposure. Hundreds more fell violently ill in the first hours. Only after the Swedes detected the fallout did Moscow admit that Chernobyl had become a man-made nuclear Vesuvius. Finally, more than thirty-six hours after the fire broke out, villagers were evacuated. The 48,000 inhabitants of Pripyat, the settlement in the woods closest to the plant, left their homes with as much as they could carry. By May 5, anyone living within twenty miles of the station was evacuated. The marshes and woods around Pripyat were cordoned off from the rest of the world. The region, comprising some seventy-six villages and settlements where more than 100,000 people once lived, has been known ever since simply as "the Zone."

The world has lived for twenty years with the word "Chernobyl," but few have ever heard of tiny Belarus, a forlorn nation of 10 million devastatingly contaminated by the "test" at Reactor No. 4. More than 18,000 children in Ukraine have been treated for radiation fallout. They have suffered all varieties of cancer, kidney and thyroid ailments, digestive and nervous disorders, loss of hair and skin pigmentation. But an estimated 70 percent of the radionuclides released from

Chernobyl fell on Belarus. Hitler leveled 619 Belarussian villages. Chernobyl took almost as many: 485. Of these, the "liquidators"—the Soviet term for the workers condemned to perform the cleanup—buried seventy in their entirety. Today, one-fifth of the territory of Belarus, a country of farmers, is contaminated.

Svetlana Alexievich's remarkable book, recording the lives and deaths of her fellow Belarussians, has at last made it into American bookstores. (The book was published in 1999 by the British house Aurum, in a translation by Antonina Bouis.) Hers is a peerless collection of testimony. The text is well translated by Keith Gessen, but it is unfortunate that the book's American editors have altered its title. *Voices From Chernobyl*, which just won the National Book Critics Circle Award for general nonfiction, appeared in Russian in 1997 as *Chernobyl'skaya molitva* ("The Chernobyl Prayer"). The original title is not only more poetic but more accurate. Alexievich has not merely given us a work of documentation but of excavation, of revealed meaning. It is hard to imagine how anyone in the West will read these cantos of loss and not feel a sense of communion, of a shared humanity in the face of this horror.

A prominent Belarussian writer and journalist, Alexievich is doubtless well aware of what her title has lost in translation. She sees herself not as prophet (in the old Soviet writer's extracurricular tradition) but as a guide intent on repairing her country's fractured sense of community. What she longs for is *sobornost*, that sense of belonging and shared ideals sacrificed long ago to Bolshevik unanimity. Throughout her work, she has sought to bring to light the hidden stories of the Soviet era. One of her first books, *U voyny—ne zhen-skoe litso* ("War's Unwomanly Face"), an oral history of Soviet soldiers in World War II, which broke with the heroic narratives of official history, was suppressed for two years before Gorbachev allowed it to be published in 1985. That book and its follow-up, *Poslednie svideteli* (1985), a collection of 100 "children's stories" of war, sold millions of copies in the former Soviet Union and made Alexievich a *glasnost* celebrity. Her career hit its peak with *Zinky Boys* (1992), an unflinching look at the Soviet war in Afghanistan ("zinky" alludes to the zinc coffins in which more than 15,000 Soviet soldiers returned home).

As voiceless narrator and hidden editor, Alexievich is aware—too much so, her critics contend—of her singular pursuit. "For me people are like the black boxes found in the debris of airplane crashes," she told me

Andrew Meier, author of *Black Earth: A Journey Through Russia After the Fall*, is a fellow at the Cullman Center for Scholars and Writers at the New York Public Library.

a few years ago in her small apartment in Minsk, Belarus's capital. "Someone has to open them." A graduate of Soviet training schools, Alexievich worked for years within the perimeters of state-sanctioned journalism. In time, however, she reached beyond accepted traditions. Taking the late writer Ales Adamovich as her model, she has created, with greater fluency in each new book, a genre she calls "documentary-literary prose." "My writing is not just all facts and voices," she told me. "I strive to create a text that works as a sign, pointing out undercurrents that lie beneath the facts." For *Voices From Chernobyl*, Alexievich traveled to the irradiated regions and looked for survivors wherever she could—interviewing more than 500 in all. But she discovered that she remained "hostage to the standard conceptions" of Chernobyl, unable to find "a new way to see it, so it could be understood." She was too close. This tragedy, unlike the wars she had explored in previous works, was hers too. Alexievich was also a victim of Chernobyl. She suffers from an immune deficiency, discovered after she completed this book. With characteristic humility, however, she decided to let her interlocutors stand on the stage alone.

Alexievich spent three years traveling through Belarus. She sought out witnesses, "workers from the nuclear plant, the scientists, the former Party bureaucrats, doctors, soldiers, helicopter pilots, miners, refugees, re-settlers." As she recalled in my interview with her: "One of the first liquidators I visited met me with joy. 'How good it is you've come now,' he said. 'We didn't understand everything,' he said, 'but we saw everything.' Two months later he died."

The stories collected here are not only haunting but illuminating. She begins with Lyudmilla Ignatenko, wife of fireman Vasily Ignatenko:

I don't know what I should talk about—about death or about love? Or are they the same?... We were newlyweds. We still walked around holding hands, even if we were just going to the store. I would say to him, "I love you." But I didn't know then how much. I had no idea.... We lived in the dormitory of the fire station where he worked on the second floor. There were three other young couples, we all shared a kitchen. On the first floor they kept the trucks. The red fire trucks. That was his job. I always knew what was happening—where he was, how he was.... One night I heard a noise. I looked out the window. He saw me. "Close the window and go back to sleep. There's a fire at the reactor. I'll be back soon".... I didn't see the explosion itself. Just the flames.

Everything was radiant. The whole sky. A tall flame. And smoke. The heat was awful. And he's still not back.... The smoke was from the burning bitumen, which had covered the roof. He said later it was like walking on tar. They tried to beat down the flames. They kicked at the burning graphite with their feet.... They weren't wearing their canvas gear. They went off just as they were, in their shirt sleeves. No one told them.

And she speaks with another widow of a liquidator:

We were expecting our first child. My husband wanted a boy and I wanted a girl. The doctors tried to convince me: "You need to get an abortion. Your husband was at Chernobyl." He was a truck driver; they called him in during the first days. He drove sand. But I didn't believe anyone.... The baby was born dead. She was missing two fingers. A girl. I cried. "She should at least have fingers," I thought. "She's a girl."

One of the helicopter pilots who flew day and night over the burning reactor tells Alexievich that the plan was to dump enough sandbags on the fire to quell the flames. According to scientists today, this tactic only added to the radioactive clouds. The pilot recalls:

I talked to some scientists. One told me, "I could lick your helicopter with my tongue and nothing would happen to me." Another said, "You're flying without protection? You don't want to live too long? Big mistake! Cover yourselves!" We lined the helicopter seats with lead, made ourselves some lead vests, but it turns out those protect you from one set of rays, but not from another. We flew from morning to night. There was nothing spectacular in it. Just work, hard work. At night we watched television—the World Cup was on, so we talked a lot about soccer.... For me, Afghanistan (I was there two years) and then Chernobyl (I was there three months) are the most memorable moments of my life.... I didn't tell my parents I'd been sent to Chernobyl. My brother happened to be reading *Izvestia* one day and saw my picture. He brought it to our mom. "Look," he says, "he's a hero!" My mother started crying.

Another survivor is Sergei Sobolev, a "professional rocketeer," now an official with a Chernobyl veterans group who helps run a small Chernobyl museum:

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event is still beyond any philosophical description. Someone said to me, or maybe I read it, that the problem of Chernobyl presents itself first of all as a problem of self-understanding. That seemed right. I keep waiting for someone intelligent to explain it to me. The way they enlighten me about Stalin, Lenin, Bolshevism. Or the way they keep hammering away at their "Market! Market! Free market!" But we—we who were raised in a world without Chernobyl, now live with Chernobyl.

And one of those soldiers sent to the front:

Your mind would turn over. The order of things was shaken. A woman would milk her cow, and next to her there'd be a soldier who had to make sure that when she was done milking, she'd pour the milk out on the ground. An old woman carries a basket of eggs, and next to her there's a soldier walking to make sure she buries them. The farmers were raising their precious potatoes, harvesting them really quietly, but in fact they had to be buried. The worst part was, the least comprehensible part, was that everything was so—beautiful! That was the worst. All around, it was just beautiful. I would never see such people again. Everyone's

faces just looked crazy. Their faces did, and so did ours.

The Chernobyl reactor was a Soviet construction of unique design. It is commonly known as an RBMK-1000, a Russian acronym that stands for *Reaktor Bolshoi Moshchnosti Kanalny*—a Reactor of Large Power with Channels. Nuclear scientists in the West do not like the RBMK design. They fear its lack of a containment shell and worry that its core demands great quantities of combustible graphite. When I studied in Moscow in the first years after the Chernobyl disaster,

IN OUR ORBIT

Poll Vault

MARK SORKIN

CONNED: How Millions Went to Prison, Lost the Vote, and Helped Send George W. Bush to the White House.

By Sasha Abramsky. New Press. 288 pp. \$25.95.

In 1993 Clinton Drake, a Vietnam veteran working as a cook on an Air Force base in Montgomery, Alabama, was arrested for possessing a small amount of marijuana, his second drug offense. He was charged with a felony, stripped of his right to vote and sentenced to five years in prison. After his release he drifted in and out of employment and never managed to pay his outstanding court fees, a prerequisite for regaining eligibility as a voter. When the 2004 presidential election came around, the only option available to Drake—and the more than 4 million Americans similarly excluded from the polls—was to stay home.

Drake's maddening story is one of dozens captured by *Nation* reporter Sasha Abramsky in his new book *Conned*, a shattering assessment of American injustice. Abramsky first investigated the disenfranchisement of ex-felons during the chad-ridden ordeal of the 2000 recount, when it turned out that hundreds of thousands of Floridians, most of them African-Americans from Democratic districts, had been purged from the rolls. Four years later, armed with a copy of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and guided by a deepening concern about antidemocratic trends in criminal law, he hit the

road again. As Bush and Kerry squared off, he set out to highlight a growing segment of the electorate whose opinions on the candidates officially didn't count. Along the way he met with scores of politicians seeking even more restrictive legislation as well as latter-day suffragists fighting on behalf of ex-felons. His book, a coast-to-coast tour of the other America, punctures the national fable of equality under the law, revealing a system of disenfranchisement that makes a mockery of the freedom our government all too confidently advances as a global model.

In some states, Abramsky points out, tough sentencing laws and draconian attitudes toward addiction team up to disenfranchise felons permanently for the pettiest of crimes. Elsewhere, the onus is placed on ex-felons to "prove" their eligibility to vote upon release, an arduous process that often involves wading through a bureaucratic maze, tracking down personal references and passing a literacy test. Some parolees are automatically re-enfranchised, but in the absence of laws requiring states to inform them of their status, many assume they can't register. And in states where juveniles are tried as adults, teenagers are losing the right to vote before they're old enough to cast a ballot.

Critics contend that former prisoners are unlikely to participate in elections, but

Abramsky finds plenty who are desperate to vote. He cites studies showing that most of these Americans tilt toward the left, and that if the pool of voters had included them, recent elections at all levels would have swung decidedly in favor of Democrats. Calls for reform, however, have made little headway because the politicians who would benefit from it are afraid of any association with criminals; after all, leading Democrats were quick to embrace the "tough on crime" policies of the late 1990s. Efforts to frame the issue in terms of rehabilitation must contend with not only long-held American ideas about punishment but also deeply embedded prejudices. As Abramsky notes, disenfranchisement "is too heavily laden with the baggage of a culture divided along racial and class lines ever to be viewed as simply a criminal justice matter." In at least nine states, more than 25 percent of African-American men are barred from voting, and in several other states the figures are nearly as high. Across the board, the number of minorities who are pushed into the prison system is staggering, and the number of them who are invited back in to the electoral process is dreadfully low.

Abramsky regards this national trend as a "Southernizing" drift, a troubling regression to the post-Reconstruction-era conception of democracy "that defined the polity, and a citizen's right to participate in it, by property ownership and a certain degree of financial independence." The laws that keep a disproportionate number of minorities either locked up or locked out of the polls may not be as blatant as Jim Crow. But Abramsky leaves no doubt that the promise of the 1965 Voting Rights Act is still far from being realized. ■

I used to visit a friend in a dacha complex for elite Soviet academics in the woods outside Moscow. Across the way lived the hero-scientist who designed the RBMK model. He never came out of his dacha. He had fallen far from favor. His design, however, lives on.

The disaster at Chernobyl did nothing to diminish the popularity of nuclear power in Russia among the authorities. The country has ten operational nuclear power plants, with thirty-one reactor units (and six more still being built). Eleven of these are the Chernobyl-standard RBMK reactors. At the same time, in Pripyat and the abandoned villages around it, a strange phenomenon has evolved in the decades since the disaster. Officially, the Zone remains off-limits. Scientists who travel there report remarkable findings—an abundance of natural beauty, of renewed flora and fauna. Debate rages over the scale, and half-life, of the damage. Reactor No. 4 is known today simply as “the Cover.” How many tons of nuclear fuel its core holds remains unknown. Nor does anyone know how much radiation is seeping from the Cover’s fissures, or how long it will stand. But one element of the unforeseen afterlife is undeniable: More and more former residents have returned to the Zone. By now more than 1,000 people have come back to live among the spectral villages of the radioactive marsh and woods. A Ukrainian website that offers Ukrainian brides and Ukrainian babies now advertises “Chernobyl Tours,” as if the Zone were a vacation spot.

Belarus, as even George W. Bush and Condoleezza Rice have grown fond of saying, is Europe’s last dictatorship. President Aleksandr Lukashenko, a half-mad Soviet throwback freshly re-anointed in March, brooks no dissent. He is no fan of Alexievich, a feeling she naturally returns in kind. “This land is a socialist reservation,” she told me. “Life has stopped here.... People feel there’s no exit. Even when it comes to the legacy of Chernobyl, we keep quiet. It still is not part of our culture.” The effects of the disaster will not disappear under the weight of repression, however. In the author’s interview with herself that introduces the Russian edition, Alexievich writes that she has the eerie sense of not so much reporting on the past as “recording the future.” It is a pity, then, that her extraordinary collection of testimony has lost its original subtitle. *Voices From Chernobyl* is subtitled *The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*. Alexievich’s choice had carried a warning. She called it “A Chronicle of the Future.” ■

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CALIFORNIA

Paul Robeson Exhibit

■ An exhibit, *Paul Robeson, The Tallest Tree in Our Forest*, opens at the African American Museum and Library at Oakland (AAMLO) on April 8 and runs through July 8. The Bay Area Paul Robeson Centennial Committee, curator of the exhibit’s memorabilia, is seeking additional material for this exhibit and for the permanent Paul Robeson archive we are developing. If you have any items that you would consider donating to our collection, please contact us as soon as possible: research@bayarearobeson.org.

MASSACHUSETTS

Rethinking Marxism 2006

■ October 26–28, University of Massachusetts. Join Ernesto Laclau, Julie Graham, Stephen Resnick, Richard Wolff, Susan Buck-Morss, Kojin Karatani, Liza Featherstone, Stephen Cullenberg, David F. Ruccio, Susan Jahoda, Antonio Callari, Warren Montag, Sut Jhally and others in an international gathering of students, scholars and activists. The journal *Rethinking Marxism* invites proposals for videos, performances, papers and panels. Instructions for submitting proposals (deadline is August 1) and registration are available at www.rethinkingmarxism2006.org.

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India and China: Cities in a World of Migration

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2006 Pushcart Prize Nominees

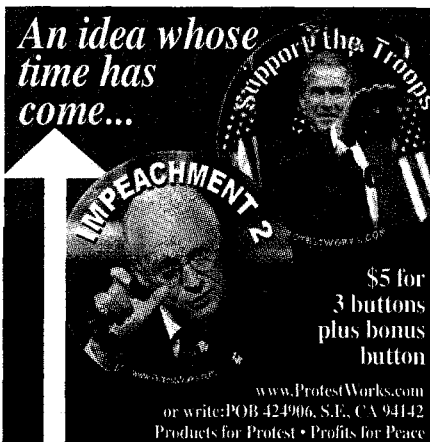
■ A Gathering of the Tribes celebrates 2006 Pushcart Prize nominees. The editors of *A Gathering of the Tribes* Issue 11 invite you to join us for a night of soulful, mind-blowing poetry, celebrating our Pushcart Prize nominees: Carlo Baldi, Gavin Moses, Faye Chiang, Lara Stapleton and Hal Sirowitz, with emcee Damion Sanders. Monday, April 17, 8 PM, at La MaMa E.T.C. 74A East 4th Street, New York, NY 10003. (212) 475-7710. Now available: *Remain* by Jennifer Murphy (Fly by Night Press) and *Tribes* Issue 11. At www.tribes.org.

VIRGINIA

Theorizing Power in the Post-9/11 World

■ The Alliance of Social, Political, Ethical and Cultural Thought (ASPECT) at Virginia Tech, in partnership with the International Social Theory Consortium (ISTC), is hosting the Seventh Annual ISTC Conference May 18–21, at the Hotel Roanoke and Conference Center. See www.aspect.vt.edu for registration, hotel and program information.

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REPUBLICANS SENDING YOUR BLOOD PRESSURE SOARING? Soothe your soul with *Morsels for Classical Guitar* by Christopher Boydston. www.cdbaby.com.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

STOP CIA MURDERS. Shut down the secret police. www.abolishthecia.org.

POLITICAL ACTION

JOHN HALL FOR CONGRESS! Progressive Democrat, founder of the band Orleans, songwriter for Bonnie Raitt and Janis Joplin, running for US Congress in NY-19. Former county legislator and school board president, no-nukes activist. Hall wants to redefine national security to include healthcare for all, energy independence based on renewables, privacy and choice, peace and diplomacy as our default foreign policy. **EARLY MONEY HELPS.** www.johnhallforcongress.com.

THINK BUSH SHOULD BE IMPEACHED? Picket Congress in front of the Capitol, Washington, DC, March 28 through March 30. Interested? Dinah Lovitch, dlovitch@sunflower.com.

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NATION STUDENT OUTREACH: Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

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THE CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS (CCR), a nonprofit legal and educational organization, seeks an Executive Director to serve as the chief executive officer of CCR, with primary responsibility for managing activities and operations, leading fundraising efforts and directing a professional staff. Minimum requirements include: at least eight years of proven senior-level managerial, financial, fundraising, human resources, operations, problem-solving and organizational development experience. To apply: submit a substantive cover letter and current résumé to lgumbs@gumbpartners.com. EO/AA employer.

HOUSING WORKS BOOKSTORE CAFE seeks Manager of Marketing and Special Events. Responsible for management of a full calendar of high-profile literary, music and rental events at SoHo's premier cultural destination. Three years of events and PR/marketing experience in nonprofit or publishing world. Submit résumé, salary requirements and writing sample to shure@housingworks.org. Equal Opportunity Employer.

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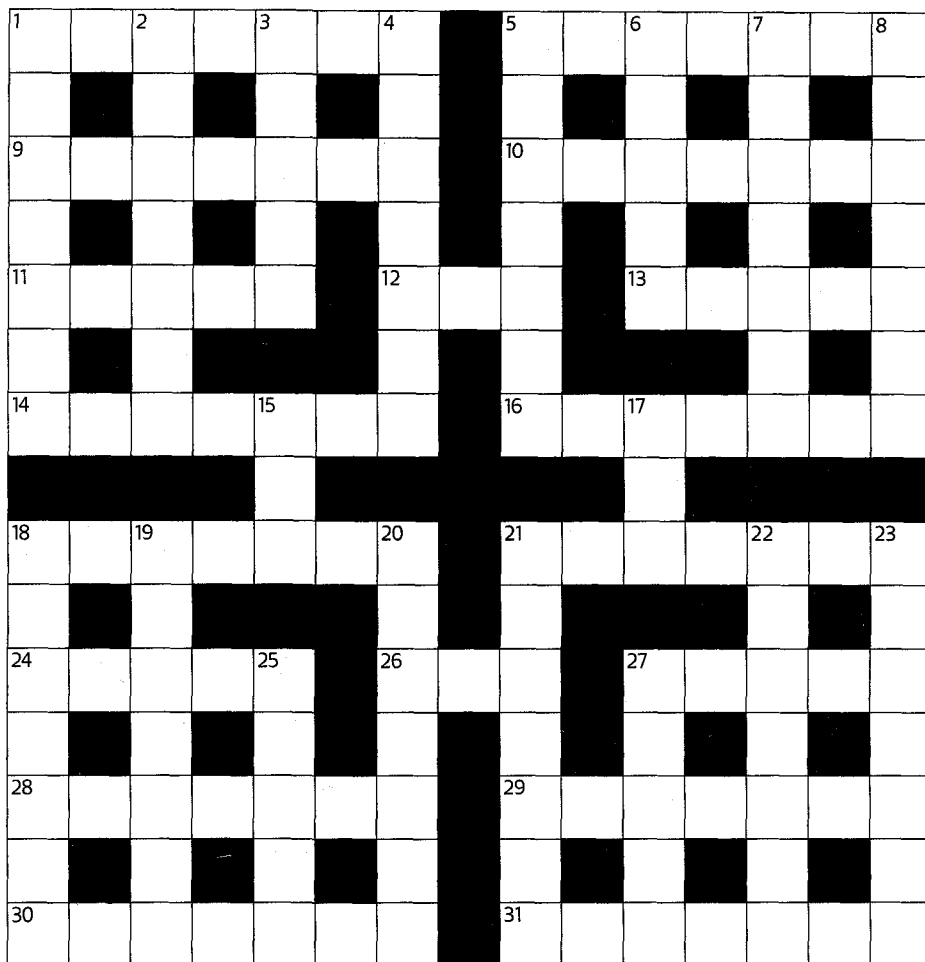
FRANK W. LEWIS

ACROSS

- 1 Where the little nippers sleep may be descriptive of old age to the poet. (7)
- 5 Polishing made this poor boy's fortune—a little boy with a good deal of noise. (7)
- 9 A region in Italy where a first class carpet—the Italian type—has a good comeback. (7)
- 10 Flying bats in a formation—hold back! (7)
- 11, 12 and 13 Treads the boards, singularly—and follows Blackbeard's instructions. (5,3,5)
- 14 What's in a test are made to say it all over again! (7)
- 16 Put some new life in what your car rolls on—and tear around in color. (7)
- 18 Sort of undo the color around it, but some computations get this off. (7)
- 21 What might have to be pared in the extreme—forming to a line. (7)
- 24, 15 down and 27 It's what the prisoner gets, perhaps, given by a lively staff along with a healthful drink. (5,3,5)
- 26, and 17 and 3 down One might put out food so, but it's pretty crumbly, as some say. (3,3,5)
- 27 See 24
- 28 A country, and/or an old heavenly being. (7)
- 29 Nordic type with a twisted tail associated with a broken-down van. (7)
- 30 Figured to be what Italy was when they kicked that latter-day tyrant out. (7)
- 31 Mother Goose had a late one appear at noon. (7)

DOWN

- 1 Certainly the fighting wasn't hot in it. (4,3)
- 2 A famous painting has a heavenly body coming down to you and me. (7)
- 3 See 26 across
- 4 One who didn't volunteer to have something to float on in the river. (7)



- 5 A possibly mature, but not experienced, actor. (7)
- 6 Political journalist and writer like Mr. Gore, having standard operating procedure. (5)
- 7 Help comes up with the foundation being fine-grained gabbro. (7)
- 8 Tires of the type that won't make a move when it's cold or wet? (3-4)
- 15 See 24 across
- 17 See 26 across
- 18 The poet said the traitor did it just to wear this—where Eve came from sounds like it was prohibited. (7)
- 19 Tipped over, although it sounds tacked on. (7)
- 20 Con with dead fur, perhaps? (7)
- 21 What one might take a giant dipper for. (7)
- 22 You'll find a pile of workers here. (7)
- 23 Ring, funny and fat, to a point? Right! (7)
- 25 A column type, with one in a knotted string. (5)
- 27 Look at the time here! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3029

C	H	A	R	L	E	S		C	H	A	P	L	I	N
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P	E	R	F	E	C	T		M	Y	N	H	E	E	R

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author of *Death at an
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Laura Flanders
Host, *RadioNation*



Jane Smiley
Pulitzer Prize-winning
novelist and essayist



Jim Hightower
Bestselling author,
columnist and radio
commentator



David Corn
Washington editor,
The Nation

More speakers to be announced

December 16-23, 2006

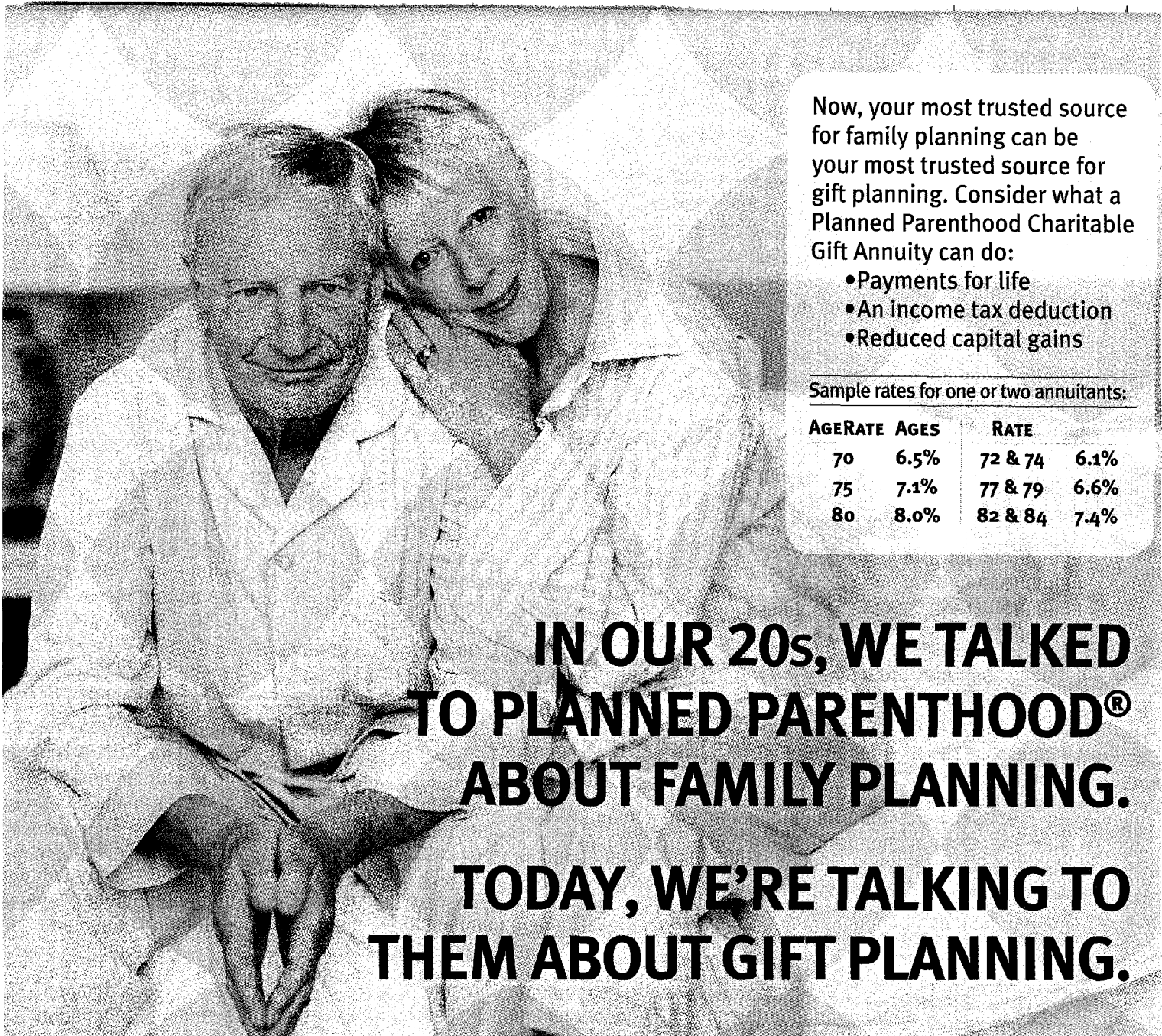
Date	Day	Port of Call	Arrive	Depart
Dec. 16	Sat	Ft. Lauderdale, FL		5 PM
Dec. 17	Sun	Day at Sea		
Dec. 18	Mon	Grand Turk, Turks & Caicos	7 AM	4 PM
Dec. 19	Tue	Road Town, Tortola	2 PM	10 PM
Dec. 20	Wed	St. Thomas, USVI	7 AM	6 PM
Dec. 21	Thu	Day at Sea		
Dec. 22	Fri	Half Moon Cay, Bahamas	7 AM	5 PM
Dec. 23	Sat	Ft. Lauderdale, FL	7 AM	

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